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ABSTRACT

The first chapter of this report, "Career and Autonomy in College Women," by Joseph Katz deals with the career choice of undergraduate women at San Jose City College and Stanford University. Chapter 2, "Adult Women at Work and at Home," by Joseph Katz, and Chapter 3, "Career-Oriented versus Home-Oriented Women," by Marjorie M. Lozoff, present data based on questionnaire responses from alumnae of Santa Rosa Junior College and Stanford University who were between 26 and 50 years old in 1968, from hour-by-hour diaries of two full days in the lives of 17 college educated adult women in the San Francisco Peninsula area, and from interviews with 27 of the women who had completed the questionnaires. Chapter 4, "Images of Women in Women's Magazines," by Peggy Comstock, presents a content analysis of a selected number of women's magazines in terms of the attitudes toward education, career, and home that are held or presumably held, by middle-class adult women. Chapter 5, "Selected Bibliography on Women: 1950-1969," by Peggy Comstock, presents a survey of an annotated bibliography of the literature on the educational and occupational situation of adult women. The questionnaire results, the questionnaire form, and the interview protocol are presented in the appendix. (AF)

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EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF ADULT WOMEN

REPORT TO THE COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Joseph Katz
Peggy Comstock
Marjorie M. Lozoff

with the assistance of
Ronald L. Starr

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INTRODUCTION

The study here reported was performed under a grant from the College Entrance Examination Board. Most of the data discussed in this report derive from questionnaire responses from alumnae of Santa Rosa Junior College and Stanford University who were between 26 and 50 years old in 1968. In the work leading up to the questionnaire we conducted group interviews with college-educated adult women from the San Francisco Peninsula area and obtained from 17 adult women hour by hour diaries of two full days in their lives. After we had received the questionnaires from our respondents we interviewed 27 of them to obtain more detailed information about what they had told us in the questionnaires. The Questionnaire form and the Interview Protocol are reproduced as Appendices B and C. The data from the questionnaires, diaries, and interviews are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Appendix A gives the questionnaire distributions.

As part of our study we conducted a content analysis of a selected number of women's magazines to see what we could learn from them about attitudes to education, career, and home held, or presumably held, by middle class adult women. Peggy Comstock conducted this analysis and reports it in Chapter 4. She also made a survey of the literature on the educational and occupational situation of adult women and provides an annotated bibliography as Chapter 5.

The people participating in this study have a long-term interest in research on the education and development of adult women. A prior study at the Institute for the Study of Human Problems, under a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor, examined the determinants of occupational choice in college students. A chapter by Joseph Katz in the report of that study entitled "Class, Character and Career" (1969), dealt with the career choice of undergraduate women at San Jose City College and Stanford University. It is reproduced here as Chapter 1 because it provides data about an earlier stage in the lives of women similar to those studied for this Report. Marjorie Lozoff recently reported to the U.S. Office of Education an analysis of data obtained in our Institute's Student Development Study entitled College Influences on the Role Development of Female Undergraduates (1969). In the first half of our study we were much benefited by the presence of Helen Astin at our Institute. She participated in the design of our study, the preparation of our questionnaire, and the interviewing. She also wrote The Woman Doctorate in America (1969) while at our Institute. Amber Henninger, Harold A. Korn, and Carol Peterson participated in the planning and execution of our study during its first half.

Ronald Starr was in charge of developing the coding manual, coding and data processing and gave valuable assistance in the statistical analyses of the data. The section concerned with political affiliation in Chapter 2 is based on an earlier draft by him. Joan Brennan exercised considerable editorial skills in Chapters 2 and 3. The following gave valuable research and secretarial assistance: Joan Brennan, Diana Deverell, Billy Jean Johnson, Carol Peterson.

Carole Leland assisted us with her counsel throughout the planning of the research. Special thanks are due to Richard Pearson and John M. Duggan for sponsoring our work. The following members of the College Entrance Examination Board advisory board and staff met with the Institute staff at the inception of our study and we are grateful to them for their stimulating ideas and encouragement: Jack Arbolino, Constance Smith, John Valley and Warren Willingham.

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August 1970

Chapter I*

CAREER AND AUTONOMY IN COLLEGE WOMEN

Joseph Katz

Uncertainty in Deciding on a Career and the Search for Identity

Two years after their graduation in 1965, 20% of the Stanford women are in graduate school and 52% are employed. Sixty-two percent of the Stanford men are in graduate school; 21% are employed, and 14% are in the military service (Table 7). How firmly are they committed to their careers? In a four-year intensive interview study, preceding the one reported here, we had followed most of the 1965 graduates from their entrance into college through their graduation. We discovered in that study that even by the end of their senior year many students had not made their occupational decision in any clearcut manner.[1] The fact that they were graduating required them to make some sort of declaration. Eighty-five percent of the men and 64% of the women headed towards graduate school. But their attitude to their "chosen" fields was very tentative and experimental as is illustrated in the following quotation from a senior who was asked the reasons for entering law school.

> "What else could I go into? I don't want to go on and study economics in graduate school because I don't want to become a professor of economics or an economist. I'm very happy I majored in it, I enjoyed it, but I'm not trying to make it a career. I don't want to go in the army now because I want to go to graduate school and now is the time to do it. I want to study law. It's going to be a real tool. Even if I don't become a lawyer, I've got to know something about it and I think it's fairly valuable knowledge. I think studying law demands logic. I think also the ability to express myself well and think clearly is going to help me, no matter what I do. So those are two reasons why I want to go into it. I think I can do a lot of things with a law degree and I think I'm going to enjoy studying law, at least after the first year I'll enjoy it. I think I'll enjoy it then. But this is the only reasonable course I have open to me, I think. It's the one that's the most appealing. I haven't set myself toward the law. In fact I can see I don't really want to become a practicing lawyer. I don't have that desire. I may over time. But I'm a neophyte. Even though my father's a lawyer I really don't know what it entails, how much I like it. And my father loves what he's doing, he just wouldn't want to do anything else. He loves what he's doing. He's just perfectly happy. Yet I'm not sure I would be happy working 60 to 70 hours a week."

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* This chapter is part of a report to the U.S. Department of Labor entitled Class, Character, and Career (1969) and is available from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Virginia. The chapter is included here because it reports Stanford and junior college undergraduate women and affords a comparison with the data on Stanford and junior college alumnae reported in Chapter II.

[1] Joseph Katz and Associates. No Time for Youth. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968, 8 ff.

Three factors in the college situation help to explain the uncertainty of commitment on the part of many students. (1) In their college courses and their college environment the students are not usually exposed to the experiences that are like those that they will find in their future professions. (2) In their summer work few students are exposed to experiences that would make occupational selection more concrete. We found that only 15% of the Stanford men had jobs in the summer before their sophomore year that could be classified as "semi-professional", that is, jobs that require a certain amount of skill which could be considered as a lower step towards the profession. Even in the summer before their senior year only 20% of the Stanford men and 7% of the Stanford women were engaged in such jobs.[2] (3) The students during their college years were still strongly involved in a search for identity, for clarification of what they were like and what meaning they wanted to give to their lives. The search for an occupation was incidental to and dependent on the outcome of the identity-seeking.

The minority of those who were pursuing a definite occupational plan seemed to fall into two groups: The one consisted of those who before or in college had discovered a talent in themselves that they could pursue in a relatively assertive and unconflicted way. The other consisted of those who had more or less foreclosed self-questioning and for whom the occupational "commitment" was a security blanket.

Table 1

Decision Made about Future Occupation or Career
(in percent)

Stanford

	Men				Women			
	Fresh. (N=76)	Soph. (N=64)	Junior (N=74)	Senior (N=97)	Fresh. (N=94)	Soph. (N=67)	Junior (N=87)	Senior (N=88)
Yes	33	39	62	65	33	45	49	67
No	67	61	38	35	67	55	51	33

Significance of difference for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference for women $p < .001$

As Table 1 indicates, a third of the Stanford men and women who participated in the study here reported declare themselves as not having decided on an occupation even as seniors. The trend is for postponement. While 35% of the freshman women and 30% of the men want to decide on a career some time after graduation, 48% of the senior women and 38% of the senior men want to do so (Table 2). Of those who have decided on an occupation, 41% of the senior men are very sure that they have made the best choice as compared with 19% of the freshman men. Only 21% of the senior women are very sure and the senior women are less sure than students from the earlier classes (Table 3).

---

[2] Joseph Katz and Associates. *Op. cit.*, 38-40.

Table 2

Wish to Defer Occupational Choice until after College Graduation
(in percent)

	Stanford							
	Men				Women			
	Fresh (N=73)	Soph (N=61)	Junior (N=74)	Senior (N=97)	Fresh (N=91)	Soph (N=67)	Junior (N=89)	Senior (N=86)
Already decided*	16	21	28	46	18	31	29	40
After graduation	30	52	49	38	35	39	47	48
Other	54	26	23	15	49	30	25	11

Significance of difference for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference for women $p < .001$

*The difference in the figures of "already decided" between this table and Table 1 may indicate that some of the decisions in Table 1 were to delay occupational choice.

Table 3

Certainty that They Made Best Occupational Choice
(Figures are percents of those students who have made a decision)

	Stanford							
	Men				Women			
	Fresh (N=26)	Soph (N=24)	Junior (N=46)	Senior (N=65)	Fresh (N=31)	Soph (N=31)	Junior (N=43)	Senior (N=61)
Very sure	19	29	30	41	29	32	35	21
Moderately sure to very unsure	80	71	70	58	71	68	65	79

Significance of difference for men $p < .01$
Significance of difference for women $p > .10$

While a third of the seniors have not decided on an occupation even formally, many of the remainder, as we indicated, declare a "choice" because it is required by the social-educational network they find themselves in. These declarations are not voluntary because not only is going to college for many people no longer a matter of choice, but also, for an increasing number of people, going on to graduate or professional school is becoming a pre-determined event. While students thus may not be choosing in a very autonomous fashion, each step they take has its own determining power and it may well be that may of them will end up in an occupation not because of their own deliberations but because by small increments the decision has been mad for them rather than by them.

For the men it is usually not a matter of coice whether they will seek a paying occupation or not. The situation for the women is further complicated by the fact that they usually are not under the necessity to seek a paying occupation. (The women may well provide a model of how men will act in the future when more of them may be free of occupational necessity.) It is of particular interest, therefore, that even in as academically able a group of students as the Stanford women, the orientation toward occupational roles is a very "traditional" one, even though, as we will later see, there is a high valuation of the occupational life. The Stanford women give responses quite similar to those of the women at San Jose City College who are academically and socially much less privileged. In both schools the women are oriented towards family and their biggest occupational aspiration is towards elementary and secondary school teaching (Table 4). This is an occupation they will not practice particularly during the years when their own children are young; while almost everyone expects to work

Table 4

Women's Career Plans
(in percent)

	Stanford (N=356)		San Jose (N=167)	
	Present Choice	Job Expected In Ten Years	Present Choice	Job Expected In Ten Years
Housewife	0	23	0	12
Elementary, Secondary School teacher	19	21	22	26
College teacher	5	7	2	1
Nurse, medical, or dental technician	1	1	21	18
Social sciences, psychological counseling	8	13	5	8
Sales person, secretary, office worker	2	3	11	12
Writer, artist, editor, etc.	4	7	1	3
Other occupations	11	15	13	14
No response or don't know	50	10	25	6

full time before they have children, very few plan to do so when their children are young. Moreover, close to half of the women do not plan to work full time after their children are older (Table 5).

Table 5*

Stanford Senior Women's Work Plans after Having Children
(in percent)
(N=212)

I plan to work	Before Having Children	Children Under 6	Children 6 to 12	Children Older
Full time	78	4	12	43
Part time	15	21	34	43
Not at all	4	71	49	9

Men
(N=272)

I accept my wife's working	Before Having Children	Children Under 6	Children 6 to 12	Children Older
Full time	75	4	8	39
Part time	21	18	37	44
Not at all	4	77	54	17

*These data come from the study reported in Joseph Katz and Associates. No Time for Youth.

When one looks at the responses of women in each of the four college years one finds that their employment plans remain stable (Table 6) in spite of the great increase in intellectual sophistication and performance during college and in spite of the push of an environment that seems to stress professional achievement as almost the only human value. This may be one indication that the pull of social values and norms outweighs the incentives of the college environment. Such an inference receives further support from the fact that the men are in complete harmony with the women on the women's occupational plans (Table 5)--a harmony that often does not obtain when the two sexes look at other aspects of the female role. Additional support comes from there seemingly being no change in occupational aspirations over two generations, in spite of the many changes in behavior and attitudes that have otherwise taken place. About the same percentages of students expect to concentrate on being housewives ten years after graduations as are found in their mothers' generation. Fifty-four percent of the Stanford women seniors in 1965 planned on being housewives ten years later. They listed housewife as the occupation of 62% of their mothers.[3]

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[3] Joseph Katz and Associates. Op. cit., 22.

Table 6

Women's Work Plans after Marriage
(in percent)

	Stanford				San Jose
	Fresh (N=94)	Soph (N=72)	Junior (N=93)	Senior (N=89)	(N=167)
Not at all	6	6	4	3	8
Only until children born	4	6	3	0	8
Also after children born	8	15	10	10	6
Not with pre-school children	8	7	10	12	14
Part-time or "free lance" work after children born	21	29	23	18	14
Return to work when children in teens	6	3	9	8	5
Return to work when children have left home	3	4	3	5	7
Quit when children born, decide later whether to return	38	31	26	34	27
Other	3	0	7	3	1
No response	3	0	5	7	10

In their second year after graduation from Stanford 56% of the women are married. Of the married women, 18% are in graduate school while of the unmarried ones, 43% are in graduate school. This contrasts with 62% of the men in graduate school, a number that might be larger were it not for the 13% who are in military service. (This is difficult to assess because some or many men may be in graduate school because of the draft.) Some of the women in graduate school may have postponed marriage precisely because it would interfere with their occupational training. For others, graduate school may be a temporary station to be left in favor of marriage at the right opportunity. There is a large drop in graduate school attendance between the first and second year out of college. Forty-two percent of the women are in graduate school during the first year, only 29% are during their second year (Table 7). This of course in part reflects the fact that many women take one year of graduate training to obtain a teaching credential. A large number of married respondents to our follow-up questionnaire less than two years after graduation indicate considerable changes in their plans because of marriage or the arrival of children. That many women seem to find it difficult to reconcile marriage and advanced training raises the question of the optimal date of marriage and its relationship to career, a question we will discuss in the policy section of this chapter.

Table 7

What Stanford Graduates of 1965 Do One and Two Years After Graduation
(in percent)

	Men		Women			
	1966	1967	1966	1967	1967	
					Married (56%)	Unmarried (44%)
	(N=677)	(N=729)	(N=365)	(N=371)	(N=209)	(N=162)
Graduate school	72	62	42	29	18	43
Job	16	21	46	52	55	48
Housewife only	0	0	9	14	24	0
Military service	10	14	0	0	0	0
Other	3	3	3	5	3	9

About 50% of both the married and unmarried women have jobs two years after graduation. Of these the largest percentages are in teaching, followed by business occupations which include secretarial work, selling, buying, bookkeeping. There is little difference in the jobs held by married and unmarried women and this may not be surprising given the fact of their common preparation. It is worth noting that the number of four-year college graduates in secretarial jobs is relatively small, about 5%. This goes against the commonly held assumption, shared by many students, that the principal jobs open to women graduates from liberal arts colleges are in the secretarial field.

The occupational decision as we have indicated is closely tied to the search for identity. For the women the search for identity is also strongly tied to the search for the man and her relationship with him. This raises very important questions about the fate of female autonomy strivings. Our society strongly supports female autonomy until college graduation, demanding at least equal performance by women as compared to that of men. Then it expects submission of a just budding academic, professional, and personal autonomy to a relatively traditional marital role.

Most women do not seem to be unwilling to make this switch. We have already seen that the occupational plans of the women are much in line with the conception that raising children and an occupation do not mix. In reporting on how they reached their occupational decision, the largest single factor mentioned by the women is that the influence of their male friends, which overshadows that of their parents, teachers or other people (Table 8). Eighty-three percent of the women are willing to have their husbands' wishes have priority over theirs. It turns out that this is considerably higher than the proportion of men who are willing to assume such priority (Table 9)--a possible foundation for later marital discord.

Table 8*

Stanford Women Seniors' (1965) Perception of Degree to Which Others Affected Postgraduate Plans
(in percent)
(N=271)

Person	To a High Degree and Much	Moderately to Not at all	No Response
Husband, Fiance, or Boyfriend	37	34	29
Father	13	85	2
Mother	15	83	1
Professor	20	79	2

*Condensed from Carole A. Leland. Women-Men-Work: Women's Career Aspirations as Affected by the Male Environment. Stanford, Calif.: 1966. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, p. 44-45.

Table 9*

Wishes Concerning Decision-making after Marriage
(in percent)

	Stanford Men (N=272)	Stanford Women (N=212)
Husband to have priority	57	83
Wife to have priority	35	9
No response	8	8

Significance of difference $p < .001$

*These data come from the study reported in Joseph Katz and Associates, No Time for Youth.

The women who report this family-centered orientation are the same people who when we interviewed them as freshmen set as their primary goal the completion of their college career and deliberately subordinated their relationships with men to that goal. Many of these women dated voluminously as freshmen, but terminated any relation with a boy that threatened to become serious. Part of this unwillingness to become serious may be explained by their yet shaky sense of identity. But the strength of their desire for academic competence was genuine in its own terms. As seniors these highly competent college women often had very romantic and unrealistic expectations of marriage and one wonders how they will react once the realities of post-college life and its real inhibitions on women's professional lives are upon them. Only detailed studies of post-college adult women will provide the answer.[4]

The Occupations that Women Students Choose

Those women who plan to enter a career seem to be oriented towards those occupations that are traditionally associated with women, such as teaching and some of the helping professions (Table 4). Does this reflect the opportunities of the market?[5] That is, of course, an important factor. But that there are factors other than economic opportunity seems to be borne out by other responses. In thinking about occupations women report themselves more often than the men as directed towards helping and working with people (Table 10). Such preferences may have their base in several factors that are difficult to disentangle: upbringing, social mores, feminine psychology.

The women report themselves as less oriented than the men towards the acquisition of money and material goods; less oriented towards reaching the top (Table 11). One might say that the women leave aggressive acquisitiveness to the men while they hope to share equally in its fruits. But our questions about income and housing expectations were independent of which spouse would make the money. It is possible there is a difference in the value orientations of the two sexes. It is sometimes assumed that if more occupations and positions were opened up to women, they would flow into them and share the behavior and attitudes of the men. It is also possible

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[4] A Study of Adult Women directed by the author is now in progress at Stanford.

[5] See Valerie K. Oppenheimer. The Female Work Force in the United States: Factors Governing its Growth and Changing Composition. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1966, for an interesting discussion of the role of demand in women's employment patterns. Her discussion is based on an analysis of the female labor force since 1900.

That women would change some of the "valuational" aspects of occupations towards less competitiveness and more attention to the interpersonal. One might also entertain the hypothesis that more men would act as women do now, once they are freed from the necessity of working.

Table 10

Important Characteristics of a Job
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Daily contact with people on job	(N=328)	(N=356)	(N=281)	(N=167)
Necessary or important	77	86	69	87
Don't care or don't want	21	12	29	13
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .01$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p < .001$			
Working in a team	(N=306)	(N=336)	(N=193)	(N=117)
Important	14	27	26	36
Neutral	58	59	55	49
Unimportant	28	14	19	15
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .001$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Helping others	(N=309)	(N=341)	(N=199)	(N=120)
Important	45	66	33	67
Neutral	39	28	48	25
Unimportant	16	6	19	8
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .001$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p < .001$			

There are many people at the present time who would assert that the dichotomy of "marriage versus career" is a false one and that many competent women seek to combine marriage and career. Our data suggest a possible deeping of that generalization. They suggest that occupations will become more attractive to women once they can more fully satisfy strivings for psychological welfare. Moreover, occupations may also become more attractive to women if they can more fully satisfy the desire for variety of activities and stimulations. At this point many women find that the life of the housewife allows for the pursuit of more varied interests than the occupational world.

Table 11

Financial and Professional Ambitions
(in percent)

	Stanford Men	Stanford Women	San Jose Men	San Jose Women
To reach the top in my line of work is	(N=311)	(N=338)	(N=202)	(N=120)
Important	55	26	60	32
Neutral	34	49	24	45
Unimportant	11	25	16	23

Significance of difference for Stanford $p<.001$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p<.001$

	Stanford Men	Stanford Women	San Jose Men	San Jose Women
I like a job requiring I become an expert	(N=328)	(N=356)	(N=281)	(N=167)
Yes	82	64	77	54

Significance of difference for Stanford $p<.001$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p<.001$

	Stanford Men	Stanford Women	San Jose Men	San Jose Women
Family income desired				
For basic needs or about average	17	28	14	31
About average and much higher	83	72	87	69

Significance of difference for Stanford $p<.01$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p<.01$

	Stanford Men	Stanford Women	San Jose Men	San Jose Women
Best house wished for in life				
Cheap	17	23	15	31
Modest	21	29	27	25
Average	38	34	27	26
Above average or very expensive	23	14	31	18

Significance of difference for Stanford $p<.10$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p<.01$

Further evidence for the importance of the interpersonal dimension can be seen in differences in attitude to family life on the part of Stanford and San Jose City women. The Stanford women (just like the Stanford men) turn out to be very much more family-oriented in the degree of interest they show in family life (Table 12). The highly competent

Stanford women expect much satisfaction from the home career.[6] Recent popularization of the concept of the feminine mystique or of some kind of implicit social conspiracy to keep women in the home have obscured the positive motivation for being in the home. One of the reasons why the junior college women expect less from family life may lie in their having had less pleasant experiences. Our data, for instance, show a lower proportion of divorces among the Stanford parents (Table 13). Other indices would need to be adduced to make this point more firmly.

Table 12

Importance of Family and Job
(in percent)

	Men		Women	
	Stanford (N=328)	San Jose (N=281)	Stanford (N=356)	San Jose (N=167)
Family more important	68	43	85	57
Family and job equal	25	34	11	23
Job more important	4	19	2	18

Significance of difference for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference for women $p < .001$

Table 13

Students Whose Parents Are Separated or Divorced
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
Parents separated or divorced	Men (N=328)	Women (N=356)	Men (N=281)	Women (N=167)
Yes	9	8	20	24
No	89	90	77	74

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .001$

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[6] Carole A. Leland. Women-Men-Work: Women's Career Aspirations as Affected by the Male Environment. Stanford, Cal.: 1966, unpublished doctoral dissertation, p. 54 found Stanford women seniors (1965) significantly lower than San Jose State seniors in agreeing to the statement, "For a healthy woman college graduate, home and family are not sufficiently absorbing and challenging."

It also turns out that Stanford women who plan on the housewife career have higher self-esteem in comparison to those planning on other occupations while the reverse is true at San Jose City College (Table 14). It suggests the possibility that self-esteem is more bolstered by an occupation for women in lower socio-economic groups than for women in higher ones. It may also be that a lower class woman without occupation is more subject to male exploitation or disregard than an equivalent middle class woman.

Table 14

Self-Esteem of Women Planning to Become Housewives And Those Planning Some Other Occupation

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Housewife (N=87)	Other Occupation (N=196)	Housewife (N=20)	Other Occupation (N=117)
High self-esteem	23	20	0	23
Moderately high self-esteem	39	30	25	26
Moderately low self-esteem	28	23	35	18
Low self-esteem	10	27	40	33

Comparing Stanford Housewife against Stanford Other Occupation with San Jose Housewife against San Jose Other Occupation there is a difference significant at $p < .001$.

There are differences between those undergraduate women who primarily aim at the housewife career and those who plan to enter other professions. The housewives are both considerably more security-minded and at the same time also want more economic affluence. They describe their fathers and mothers less often as wishing them to have a professional career. Fewer of their mothers have jobs. Their occupational desires even in early childhood were less directed towards a profession. Ninety-nine percent of them say that an occupation is less important than family. They less often like to choose difficult tasks in preference to easy ones and at the same time consider it important to be kept busy with something to do at all times. Fewer of them rank occupation above social life and sports (Table 15).

While the housewife group is large and varied, the picture that emerges is that there are more women among them who tend to have a passive orientation towards life, who want to work less and have more of at least the material goods of our society. Their greater security-mindedness, together with their greater desire to be kept busy suggest an inhibition of aggressive drives, probably early in childhood, a resignation to a diminished realization of their potential. (It is to be kept in mind that our data bear only on those women who already in college plan on being housewives, not on the many additional women who will occupy this role, too.)

Table 15

Differences Between College Women Planning to Become Housewives And Those Planning Some Other Occupation

(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Housewife	Other Occupation	Housewife	Other Occupation
Occupational skills desirable for security	(N=84)	(N=191)	(N=20)	(N=114)
Yes	48	28	85	67
No	52	72	15	33
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .01$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Family income desired	(N=85)	(N=187)	(N=20)	(N=108)
For basic needs or about average	21	34	25	34
Above average or much higher	79	66	75	66
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .05$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Father's wish for daughter	(N=53)	(N=110)	(N=13)	(N=66)
Major professional	34	56	8	12
Other	66	44	92	88
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .05$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Mother's wish for daughter	(N=47)	(N=124)	(N=14)	(N=63)
Major professional	15	36	0	5
Other	85	64	100	95
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .05$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Mother has a job	(N=80)	(N=185)	(N=18)	(N=102)
Yes	29	44	39	39
No	71	56	61	61
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p < .05$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			

Table 15 (continued)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Housewife	Other Occupation	Housewife	Other Occupation
Early occupation choice	(N=84)	(N=192)	(N=20)	(N-114)
Professional	70	85	65	65
Other	30	15	35	35

Significance of difference for Stanford $p < .05$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p > .10$

Life with family compared to job	(N=87)	(N=191)	(N=20)	(N=115)
Job more or equally important	1	18	30	42
Job less important	99	82	70	58

Significance of difference for Stanford $p < .001$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p > .10$

	(N=84)	(N=187)	(N=20)	N=113)
Like to do more difficult tasks	52	78	55	58
Dislike to do more difficult tasks	48	22	45	42

Significance of difference for Stanford $p < .001$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p > .10$

Being kept busy on job	(N=81)	(N=187)	(N=15)	(N=89)
Important	40	16	47	21
Neutral	43	59	40	49
Unimportant	17	25	13	30

Significance of difference for Stanford $p < .001$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p > .10$

Social life compared with job	(N=85)	(N=189)	(N=20)	(N=114)
Job more important	15	30	10	24
Job equally or less important	85	70	90	76

Significance of difference for Stanford $p < .05$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p > .10$

Sports, outdoors compared with job	(N=87)	(N=193)	(N=20)	(N=114)
Job more important	25	46	20	30
Job equally or less important	75	54	80	70

Significance of difference for Stanford $p < .01$
Significance of difference for San Jose $p > .10$

Some interesting differences also emerge among women who plan different careers. Prospective college teachers turn out less security-minded and less people-oriented or inclined to help others. They report themselves as particularly encouraged by both father (87%) and mother (58%) to pursue a major professional career. Over half of them describe their mothers as not very satisfied with the housewifely role. They are the lowest in ranking the importance of family. They are particularly task-oriented and like to concentrate intensely. They also are the lowest in professed self-esteem (Table 16).

One gets the not surprising picture of the future college teacher's dedication to difficult tasks and of a non-materialistic orientation. The strong support of the fathers is another piece of evidence for the view that girls need the encouragement of their fathers or other males to define themselves as intellectuals.[7] The lack of people-orientedness seems to show a congruence of personality disposition with the present operational definition of the job of college teachers--a definition that is one of the causes of the current student unrest. What is one to make of their lower professed self-esteem? Is it a function of higher standards for themselves and/or of psychological conflict that drives them to intellectual achievement and/or of greater self-awareness? Only further inquiry can answer this.

For the prospective elementary and high school teachers[8] at Stanford we find a higher degree of security-mindedness than for the other professions, with the exception of business. We find a stronger desire to help others. Family life is also valued highly. Their mothers are professional women more often than the mothers of the others. (One may surmise that many of these mothers are teachers themselves and that the expectation is that women work. Gainfull but professionally not too elevated employment may be the expectation in these families.) (Table 17)

The picture among the San Jose City College prospective school teachers is somewhat different. While their security strivings are very high, they are similar to other occupations in this regard. Like the Stanford future teachers they are also strongly oriented towards helping other people. Both their fathers and mothers are perceived as highly encouraging of a professional career (Table 18).

For the San Jose City College women, a teaching career may be an upward step and hence it may have more progressive implications for them than for their Stanford peers. Still, in both groups one finds a high degree of security-mindedness. In our interviews with prospective school teachers at Stanford we often found that considerations of the security of a certificate "in case something happens" seemed to loom larger than a strong incentive to work with children and develop their potential. Given the great importance of early schoooling, more careful attention to the psychological characteristics of teachers seems indicated.

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[7] See Majorie M. Lozoff. Autonomy and Feminine Role. In College Influences on the Role Development of Female Undergraduates. Stanford, Calif.: Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University, 1969, 39 ff.

[8] The interpretations given in this and the next three paragraphs are suggestive only. Many of the comparisons in Tables 17-19 and 21 do not reach statistical significance. But the direction of the differences in these tables supports the interpretations. Moreover, items with similar contents show similar response patterns. The small sizes of some of the subgroups often accounts for the statistical tests not yielding significance.

Table 16

Differences Between Stanford Women Planning to be College Teachers And
Those Planning Other Occupations (Excluding Housewives)
(in percent)

	College Teachers	Other Occupations
Best house wished for in life	(N=17)	(N=132)
Cheap	47	24
Modest	24	31
Average	29	30
Above average	0	16
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Job helps other people	(N=24)	(N=165)
Important	50	73
Neutral	38	22
Unimportant	12	5
Significance of difference $p < .10$		
Working near people	(N=23)	(N=167)
Necessary	30	50
Important	44	36
Don't care and don't want	26	13
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Father's wish for daughter	(N=15)	(N=95)
Major professional	87	52
Other	13	48
Significance of difference $p < .05$		
Mother's wish for daughter	(N=12)	(N=112)
Major professional	58	34
Other	42	66
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Mother likes being housewife	(N=24)	(N=165)
Satisfied and very satisfied	46	70
Neutral, doesn't like	54	30
Significance of difference $p < .05$		

Table 16 (continued)

	College Teachers	Other Occupation
Being kept busy on job	(N=24)	(N=163)
Important	8	18
Neutral	59	58
Unimportant	33	24
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Most life satisfactions from work	(N=24)	(N=164)
Important	46	35
Neutral	50	44
Unimportant	4	21
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Life with family compared to job	(N=24)	(N=167)
Job more or equally important	38	16
Job less important	62	84
Significance of difference $p < .05$		
Doing things needing high concentration	(N=23)	(N=167)
Like	96	72
Dislike	4	28
Significance of difference $p < .05$		
Self-esteem	(N=24)	(N=172)
High	17	20
Moderately high	29	30
Moderately low	12	25
Low	42	25
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Occupational skills desirable for security	(N=22)	(N=169)
Yes	9	31
No	91	69
Significance of difference $p < .05$		

Table 17

Differences Between Stanford Women Planning to be Elementary or Secondary Teachers and Those Planning Other Occupations (Excluding Housewives)

(in percent)

	Elementary or Secondary Teacher	Other Occupation
Occupational skills desirable for security	(N=26)	(N=165)
Yes	38	27
No	62	73
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Family income desired	(N=25)	(N=162)
For basic needs or about average	28	35
Above average or very high	72	65
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Best house wished for in life	(N=20)	(N=129)
Cheap	25	26
Modest	20	32
Average	45	27
Above average and very costly	10	15
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Job helps other people	(N=26)	(N=163)
Important	85	68
Neutral	0	25
Unimportant	15	7
Significance of difference $p < .01$		
Life with family compared to job	(N=27)	(N=164)
Job more or equally important	4	21
Job less important	96	79
Significance of difference $p > .10$		
Mother's job level	(N=13)	(N=66)
Professional	62	44
Other	38	56
Significance of difference $p > .10$		

Table 18

Differences Between San Jose Women Planning to be Elementary or Secondary Teachers and Those Planning Other Occupations (Excluding Housewives)

	Elementary or Secondary Teacher	Other Occupation
Occupational skills desirable for security	(N=25)	(N=89)
Yes	60	69
No	40	32
Significance of difference p>.10		
Family income desired	(N=26)	(N=82)
For basic needs or about average	35	35
Above average or very high	65	66
Significance of difference p>.10		
Best house wished for in life	(N=20)	(N=75)
Cheap	40	28
Modest	10	29
Average	25	24
Above average and very costly	25	19
Significance of difference p>.10		
Job helps other people	(N=20)	(N=65)
Important	85	61
Neutral	10	21
Unimportant	5	8
Significance of difference p>.10		
Father's wish for daughter	(N=19)	(N=47)
Professional	79	57
Other	21	43
Significance of difference p>.10		
Mother's wish for daughter	(N=21)	(N=52)
Professional	81	67
Other	19	33
Significance of difference p>.10		

Table 19

Differences Between Women Planning To Be in Business and Those Planning Other Occupations (Excluding Housewives)
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Business	Other Occupation	Business	Other Occupation
Occupation skills for security	(N=25)	(N=166)	(N=21)	(N=93)
Yes	40	27	95	60
No	60	74	5	40
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p > .10$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p < .01$			
Family income desired	(N=25)	(N=162)	(N=21)	(N=87)
For basic needs or about average	24	35	29	36
Above average	36	33	24	30
Much higher	40	31	47	35
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p > .10$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Best house wished for in life	(N=18)	N=131	(N=17)	(N=78)
Cheap	6	29	35	29
Modest	39	29	41	22
Average or above	56	42	24	49
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p > .10$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Working with others	(N=24)	(N=166)	(N=21)	(N=101)
Necessary	67	45	43	46
Important	25	39	48	38
Don't care, don't want	8	17	10	15
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p > .10$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Working in a team	(N=24)	(N=162)	(N=16)	(N=69)
Important	29	25	38	36
Neutral	63	59	50	51
Unimportant	8	16	12	13
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p > .10$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p > .10$			
Work helps other people	(N=24)	(N=165)	(N=17)	(N=68)
Important	58	72	35	75
Neutral	38	22	36	24
Unimportant	4	6	29	1
Significance of difference for Stanford	$p > .10$			
Significance of difference for San Jose	$p < .001$			

For those heading into business occupations, both at Stanford and San Jose City College, security and above average income are important considerations (Table 19). Interestingly enough, their income expectations are about the same as those of the housewives (Table 20). Working with people is necessary for the Stanford group in considering a job, but helping other people is ranked less high in both schools (Table 19). As other studies[9] have shown, present-day students heading into business occupations tend to be more security-minded, less risk-taking than their peers--in contrast to popular associations of business with venture. Our data go in the same direction. Further, these students seem to need other people for gregarious comfort, but less for the sake of being of service to them.

Table 20

Income Expectations of Women Planning to be in Business Occupations and Those Planning To Be Housewives

	Stanford		San Jose	
Family income desired	Business (N=25)	Housewife (N=85)	Business (N=21)	Housewife (N=20)
For basic needs or about average	24	21	29	25
Above average	36	39	24	35
Very high	40	40	48	40

The numbers of those planning to go into artistic careers are small at both colleges and are different from each other. The prospective artists at Stanford are low on security-strivings, have little need to work with or to help people, and their self-esteem tends to be lower than that of the other occupations. They, more than the others, dislike to plan ahead or organize their time (Table 21). This seems a risk-taking, impulsive group, seeking more satisfaction in their work than in other people.

Influences on the Career Decision: Parents, Boyfriends, and Others

We found that relatively small proportions of students list their families or their teachers as having had a significant influence on their thinking about an occupation (Table 22). But when Stanford senior women students were asked by Carole Leland in 1965 to compare

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[9] Coldsen, Ruth, et al. What College Students Think. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1960.

Table 21

Differences Between Stanford Women Planning To Be in Artistic Careers and Those Planning Other Occupations (Excluding Housewives)

(in percent)

	Artistic	Other Occupations
Occupational skills desirable for security	(N=13)	(N=178)
Yes	15	29
No	85	71
Significance of difference p>.10		
Work in team	(N=14)	(N=172)
Important	14	26
Neutral	65	59
Unimportant	21	15
Significance of difference p>.10		
Work helps other people	(N=13)	(N=176)
Important	23	74
Neutral	62	21
Unimportant	15	5
Significance of difference p<.01		
Self-esteem	(N=14)	(N=182)
High	29	19
Moderately high	7	31
Moderately low	29	23
Low	36	26
Significance of difference p>.10		
Planning projects ahead	(N=12)	(N=177)
Like	58	77
Dislike	42	23
Significance of difference p>.10		
Organize time by planning	(N=13)	(N=178)
Like	69	90
Dislike	31	10
Significance of difference p>.10		

the influence of their parents, teachers, and others with those of boyfriends, fiances or husbands, 37% said they were strongly influenced by their boyfriends, fiances, or husbands, as against 13% who listed their fathers, 15% who listed their mothers, and 20% who listed their professors (Table 8)--these may be overlapping responses.[10] The men of their own age seem to have a specially strong influence on the women's occupational planning. There are negative aspects of this orientation towards the male. Forty-three percent of the Stanford women describe themselves as occasionally "playing dumb" in dating boys in college.[11] Suppression of intellectual assertiveness may well be part of a constellation that includes the suppression of occupational aspirations.

Table 22

Influences on Occupational Choice
(in percent)

Most important influence	Stanford Men (N=328)	Stanford Women (N=356)	San Jose Men (N=231)	San Jose Women (N=167)
Family and relatives	15	11	14	15
Teacher, counselor, school official	5	6	5	5
Other	72	76	54	61
No response	8	8	26	18

There is other evidence that the students do not perceive their parents as an important reference group in making their occupational choice. Less than 25% say that their occupational choice has been a topic of discussion with their father during the last year and 25% of the Stanford women and 39% of the San Jose City women say this of their mother. Very small percentages register disagreement with either father or mother about their occupational choice.

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[10] Carole A. Leland, op. cit., 44. Dr. Leland writes: "The responses [to the boyfriend, fiancé, husband category] are even more dramatic if percentages are quoted only for those who answered the particular question, i.e., those to whom the category was relevant. In that instance 56 percent of the women attributed strong influence to a particular male." (p. 42)

[11] Ibid., 59: "Striking similarities in three studies with similar college populations (women at Stanford and Barnard) done over a span of 20 years suggest that attitudes toward women may not have shifted so much as to emancipate women from feelings of necessitated subordination to men."

That this lack of overt reference to their parents during the college years does not imply a lack of influence can be seen by comparing the parents' occupational aspirations for their children at Stanford and San Jose City College. Stanford women assert their fathers' or mothers' "deep down" wishes for them include such professions as medicine, law, science, psychology, writing, while at San Jose City College the women register such occupations as nursing and clerical work--quite in agreement with the students' own general patterns of occupational choice (Table 23). Yet the asserted absence of the parents' influence testifies to the conscious desire of students at this time in their lives to make decisions on their own--though many may need some help to become aware of the less conscious ties which bind them to their past and which may prevent them from making truly independent decisions.

Table 23

Parental Wishes and Students' Choice of Occupations
(in percent)

	Stanford (N=356)			San Jose (N=167)		
	Father's Wish	Mother's Wish	Own* Choice	Father's Wish	Mother's Wish	Own* Choice
Housewife	6	10	23	5	5	12
College teacher	3	0	7	0	0	1
Other teacher	18	25	21	19	23	26
Social sciences, psychology	2	6	13	3	1	8
M.D.	5	3	2	2	1	0
Lawyer	5	2	0	0	0	0
Science	7	3	1	2	0	0
Clerk, secretary	0	1	0	10	7	8
Salesperson, office worker, other business jobs	2	0	2	4	4	4
Nurse	0	2	1	7	14	11
Other	31	34	22	29	30	23
No response, don't know, none	19	12	9	18	14	4

*Expected job in 10 years.

It is worth noting that far fewer women say their parents' deepest wish for them is to become a housewife than actually put down "housewife" as their principal occupation ten years from now--and this is a fraction of those who plan to be primarily housewives as indicated by their work plans once they have children (Table 5). Moreover, there are interesting discrepancies in reported paternal and maternal wishes. At Stanford fathers more often than mothers wish their girls to go into such professions as medicine, law, science, business. From Marjorie Lozoff's study it appears that girls who enter careers requiring more extended training tend to have fathers who actively encouraged their intellectual development.[12] But women are often caught in the crossfire of conflicting identifications with father and mother in the occupational decision process. They may view specific occupations as either "masculine" or "feminine" and thus introduce a false "sexual" element into occupational decision making.

In looking to the future, both men and women students agree that their prospective daughters, as contrasted with their sons, should have less education (Table 24). But it is interesting that a larger proportion of Stanford women, as compared with Stanford men, would prefer their future daughters to earn an advanced degree. Perhaps some of these are already the daughters of fathers supportive of professional aspirations. In the future, as more fathers encourage their daughters to go into professions, more mothers will encourage their daughters to do so in the next generation.

Table 24

Desired Education for Students' Future Children
(in percent)

	Stanford			
First ranked educational level for future children	Men		Women	
	Sons (N=272)	Daughters (N=265)	Sons (N=283)	Daughters (N=278)
Bachelor's or less	6	56	6	34
More than Bachelor's	94	44	94	66

Significance of difference for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference for women $p < .001$
Comparing men against women for sons, the significance of difference is $p > .10$
Comparing men against women for daughters, the significance of difference is $p < .001$

	San Jose			
	(N=170)	(N=150)	(N=99)	(N=99)
Bachelor's or less	38	66	41	65
More than Bachelor's	62	34	59	35

Significance of difference for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference for women $p < .01$

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[12] Marjorie M. Lozoff. *Op. cit.*, 86.

Sixty-seven percent of the Stanford women as compared with 33% of the freshmen, say they have decided about their future occupation (Table 1). Fifty-five percent of the seniors are very sure or moderately sure they have made the best occupational choice as compared with 26% of the freshmen. But how certain is their certainty? Or is the asserted greater certainty between the freshmen and senior year a function of the fact that some decision must be made? (Seventy-four percent of the junior college women say they have made their occupational decision--perhaps because they are more immediately confronted with the need for deciding.) Evidence for increased pressure on the Stanford women comes, for instance, from the fact that 12% of the freshmen and 32% of the seniors say that other people expect them to make a decision. Evidence for less real certainty comes from the fact that when asked about their wishes, only 40% of the Stanford women seniors declare themselves as already decided while the rest would rather decide later, 44% during or after graduate training or after working (Table 25). Moreover, after their freshmen year greater proportions of women students express less commitment to staying with a specific career. The tendency for the men is to become somewhat more committed by their senior year. But these differences are only suggestive as they are not statistically significant (Table 26). But it is worth noting that more than half of the Stanford men and women even as seniors say that they "would rather not be committed to a particular career and be free to change careers when it seems desirable." By contrast only 25% of the junior college women and 45% of the men desire such freedom.

Table 25

Stanford Women's Decision About Occupation
(in percent)

Other people expect me to make a decision	Fresh (N=95)	Soph (N=71)	Junior (N=95)	Senior (N=92)
Yes	12	24	28	33
No	88	76	72	67

Significance of difference $p < .01$

Prefer to decide on occupation	(N=95)	(N=72)	(N=95)	(N=94)
Already have	17	31	31	40
After graduation	33	37	43	44
Other	50	32	26	16

Significance of difference $p < .001$

Table 26

Commitment to a Career
(in percent)

Commitment to a particular career

	STANFORD								SAN JOSE	
	Women				Men					
	Fr. (N=90)	Sph. (N=66)	Jr. (N=93)	Sr. (N=90)	Fr. (N=76)	Sph. (N=64)	Jr. (N=77)	Sr. (N=105)	Women (N=158)	Men (N=274)
Yes	47	30	32	40	29	31	29	40	75	55
No	53	70	68	60	71	69	72	60	25	45

Significance of difference for Stanford women $p > .10$
Significance of difference for Stanford men $p > .10$

Indecisiveness continues after graduation. A few months after graduation about half of the women and men say their plans are exactly the same as at graduation. Less than two years after graduation only 23% of the men and 21% of the women say definitely that their occupational plans have not changed since graduation. It is difficult to know how many more non-changers there might be because of the large percentage of non-respondents.

We have seen in this chapter and in chapter 1 that the occupational decision appears to be influenced by the family's (parental and grandparental) occupation. The decision also tends to be in agreement with parental wishes as to type of occupation and not to involve much disagreement with one's parents. The influence of background factors also shows itself in the women's early career phantasies. At least five times as many women as men report themselves as having been interested, before age 10, in minor professions (Table 27). But while these determinants from the past[13] seem half-consciously and unconsciously to channel the range of students' choices and expectations, they do not imply clear positive commitments. As we have seen, even by the senior year there is a desire to postpone the career decision. Students do not want to commit themselves to a specific career. Their knowledge of specific careers tends to be vague. The question may be raised, therefore, whether the occupational decision is ever made by most students or whether they are not pulled by forces from the past, are channeled by opportunities put before them in their differing present environments, and are constrained to declare themselves for this or that avenue on such occasions as that of approaching graduation. Given the importance of the occupational decision for the individual and the society, the need very clearly seems to be for facilitating greater awareness of one's own interests, aptitudes, and satisfactions in regard to occupation.

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[13] Other evidence for stable determinants of the occupational decision comes from our Stanford four-year interview study when less than a third of the 1965 women and men seniors had changed much in their stated occupational plans between the end of high school and the end of college.

Table 27

Early Career Interests
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Men (N=46)	Women (N=55)	Men (N=50)	Women (N=48)
Careers before age 10:				
Major professional	41	31	34	31
Minor professional	6	45	10	50
White collar & semi-professional	26	13	46	12
Other	26	12	10	6

Experiences in College that Help the Career Decision

One of the obstacles to a realistic occupational decision may be the lack of exposure during the college years to work experiences in the professions towards which students are heading. Among the 1965 Stanford seniors we found that in the summer after their freshmen year 15% of the men and 7% of the women worked in semi-professional jobs. In the summer before the senior year those percentages rose to 20% and 11% respectively. Thus relatively small percentages are exposed to experiences that may have bearing on their professional choice. It comes as no surprise therefore, that large proportions of even those students who say they have chosen an occupation do not seem to know specific details about the occupation they have declared for. But there are differences in specificity of knowledge between the freshmen and junior years--an indication that some learning is taking place--though there is a drop in the senior year which is puzzling. A greater proportion of junior college students, 310 out of 448 or 69%, as compared with 49% (341 out of 684) of the Stanford students, have specific knowledge of their chosen occupation--probably a function of their greater exposure to the occupations they plan to enter (Table 28).

Table 28

Knowledge of Chosen Occupation
(in percent)

Knows Specific Job Details	STANFORD								SAN JOSE	
	Men				Women				Men	Women
	Fr. (N=26)	Sph. (N=25)	Jr. (N=47)	Sr. (N=71)	Fr. (N=31)	Sph. (N=32)	Jr. (N=47)	Sr. (N=62)	(N=184)	(N=126)
Yes	42	64	65	59	68	73	83	68	63	74
No	58	36	35	41	32	27	17	32	37	26

Significance of difference between classes for Stanford men $p > .10$
Significance of difference between classes for Stanford women $p > .10$

Further indication of the importance of work experience during college comes from what the students say about the kind of work experience they have had. Over a fifth of the women say that their work experience has instigated or heightened their desire to do the kind of work they experienced. More than a third say that their work experience has had a negative influence upon them (Table 29). The direction of this influence can be gauged from responses that indicate that many women feel they should avoid office and sales work in the future--many of the men declare themselves similarly about manual or factory labor (Table 30). The preferences of students for semi-professional jobs can be seen in a comparison of those of their past jobs they consider most and least interesting (Table 31). In interpreting this table it must be borne in mind that in declaring one of their jobs most interesting, students have to choose among jobs they actually have had, not the kind of job they might have preferred.

Table 29

Influence of Previous Jobs on Women's Job Choice
(in percent)

	Stanford (N=323)	San Jose (N=142)
More desire to do that kind of work	22	25
Little or no influence	28	29
Had negative effect	41	37
Other	9	8

Table 30

Jobs Which Should Be Avoided
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Men (N=186)	Women (N=207)	Men (N=140)	Women (N=69)
Manual labor, factory	50	13	51	25
Office work	9	53	12	39
Sales work, selling	10	15	11	19
Others	31	19	26	17

Table 31

Most and Least Interesting Jobs
(in percent)

	Stanford Men	Stanford Women	San Jose Men	San Jose Women
Most Interesting	(N=289)	(N=301)	(N=258)	(N=129)
Professional	3	4	3	2
White collar and semi-professional	51	64	28	59
Skilled worker, craftsman	4	3	13	4
Unskilled and semi-skilled	38	28	54	33
Other	3	1	2	2
Least Interesting	(N=263)	(N=257)	(N=206)	(N=95)
Professional	<1	<1	1	1
White collar* and semi-professional	20	54	15	45
Skilled worker, craftsman	4	1	10	2
Unskilled and semi-skilled	74	42	74	51
Other	1	<1	<1	0

*This includes office jobs. For women's dislike of office jobs see Table 30.

What Makes an Occupation Attractive

As students are thinking about possible occupations, what sort of things make them attractive? As one looks at their reactions to jobs they had in the past, one finds that their greatest satisfactions came from the people they worked with. This is particularly true for women and is true for both their most and their least interesting jobs. The men, however, value in about the same proportions on their least interesting job the money received and the people involved (Table 32). Similarly, daily contact with people is considered necessary or important by about 80% of the men and women students. But working in a team with other people does not seem very highly desired. Providing direct help to people through their occupation divides the men from the women. Many more women than men list this among the three most desirable aspects of work (Table 10).

Table 32

Attractive Aspects of Jobs
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Most Interesting Job				
Attractive aspect of job	(N=293)	(N=306)	(N=261)	(N=132)
People involved	34	56	30	52
Knowledge and experience	26	17	15	16
Challenge and responsibility	13	11	10	4
Money	6	1	12	5
Others or nothing	21	15	34	23
Least Interesting Job				
Attractive aspects of job	(N=256)	(N=254)	(N=191)	(N=94)
People involved	24	42	15	35
Knowledge and experience	9	10	3	7
Challenge and responsibility	5	2	2	2
Money	25	20	19	19
Others or nothing	37	26	61	36

When it comes to the expectations of challenge and the avoidance of routine in a job, the Stanford women are sharply differentiated from the junior college women--and the men likewise. Three times as many Stanford women as compared with junior college women have reacted explicitly to their work experience with the desire to avoid boring, routine, or unchallenging jobs in the future (Table 33). Similarly, excitement while at work, finding major life satisfactions in one's work, placing one's occupation above many other activities is more pronounced for Stanford women and men than for the junior college student (Tables 34 and 35).

Table 33

Attitude Toward Routine Work on Job
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
From past jobs, which jobs should be avoided	Men (N=328)	Women (N=356)	Men (N=281)	Women (N=167)
Boring or unchallenging	41	45	16	14
Others or no response	59	55	84	86

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .001$

Table 34

Work as a Source of Pleasure in Life
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Fun and excitement in work is:	(N=308)	(N=342)	(N=203)	(N=128)
Important	34	36	19	18
Neutral	48	51	40	38
Unimportant	18	13	41	44

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .001$

	Stanford		San Jose	
Finding life satisfactions mostly in work is:	(N=308)	(N=338)	(N=196)	(N=126)
Important	43	26	33	21
Neutral	36	45	39	44
Unimportant	21	29	28	35

Significance of difference between schools for men $p = .06$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p > .10$

Table 35

Work Compared to Other Activities in Life
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
Job more important than:	Men (N=328)	Women (N=356)	Men (N=281)	Women (N=167)
Art, drama, and/or music	53	22	50	40
Community and civic improvement	51	46	38	31
Political activities	55	62	46	48
Religious activities	60	54	34	27
Social life	40	23	28	23
Sports or outdoor activities	42	40	33	28
Life with my future family	4	2	19	18

The greater valuation of occupation at Stanford goes together with greater achievement-orientedness. Stanford students more frequently express a liking for setting high standards or difficult goals for themselves. They also describe themselves twice as often as the junior college students as working frequently under pressure and liking it (Table 36). Standards of hard work thus seem more internalized at Stanford than at the junior college. It should be kept in mind that this disposition goes together with the previously noted greater tendency to adventurousness, less security striving and less superego domination. It is also worth noting that double the number of Stanford women describe themselves as frequently working under pressure as like doing it.

A very important finding is that it is necessary or important to 50% of the junior college women to work with people of similar social background, while this is true for only 22% of the Stanford women. The figures for the men are similar (Table 37). An orientation towards one's social in-group thus seems much more pronounced in the junior college population. While much attention has been paid to middle class constriction, our data suggest an even greater constriction in some sectors of lower middle and upper lower socioeconomic groups.

Table 36

Achievement Orientation in Work
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Set difficult goals for self	(N=312)	(N=338)	(N=264)	(N=160)
Like	81	79	61	61
Dislike	19	21	39	39

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .001$

Setting higher goals for self than others, working harder to meet them	(N=306)	(N=340)	(N=265)	(N=162)
Like	74	72	66	65
Dislike	26	28	34	35

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .10$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .10$

Do a job under pressure				
Frequently	54	62	31	24
Rarely, never, occasionally	46	38	69	76

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .001$

Do a job under pressure	(N=319)	(N=343)	(N=265)	(N=163)
Like	50	35	34	17
Dislike	50	65	66	83

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .001$

Table 37

Importance of Working with People of Similar Background
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
Opportunity to work with people of similar background	Men (N=320)	Women (N=356)	Men (N=281)	Women (N=167)
Necessary, important	27	22	55	50
Don't care, don't want	71	76	43	49

Significance of difference between schools for men $p < .001$
Significance of difference between schools for women $p < .001$

We have already referred to the fact that in their anticipated occupational life the women are more people-oriented. The women also turn out to be less ambitious. Reaching the top in their line of work is much less important to them than the men. They have less of a desire to become an expert in their line of work. Their income and other material expectations are lower than those of the men (Table 11). This is not a surprising picture. But the differences between the sexes should not make us forget the large number of women whose ambitions and expectations are equal to those of the men.

In considering the role of work in people's lives nothing is more striking than the preponderant importance our students give to their future families. No other activity is so heavily endorsed over and above occupation than family life. Eighty-five percent of the Stanford women say that their future occupation is less important to them than their life with their future family. Sixty-eight percent of the Stanford men agree with them. For the junior college students the figures are still relatively high. But only 57% of the women and 43% of the men place occupation below family. There is an interesting situation here. The Stanford students, as we have seen, value occupation more highly than the junior college students, but they view family higher still. Thus the junior college students seem to put a lower value on both family and occupational life. At the same time they tend to view community, political, religious, outdoor activities and social life, as compared with occupation, more highly than the Stanford students (Table 35). It is perhaps in these activities that many of them expect to find the satisfactions they do not anticipate in work or family life. But one may also formulate the hypothesis that their expectations of satisfactions in life are more restricted in general than those of the middle class Stanford students. Their greater security-mindedness previously referred to give this hypothesis further plausibility.[14]

What other aspects of a job are important to people as they move into the occupational world? Between 70% and 90% list the following as necessary or important: (1) location in a geographic area I prefer, (2) daily contact with people rather than working mostly alone, (3) chances for advancement to positions of greater responsibility (Table 38).

Table 38

Important Aspects of Any Chosen Job
(in percent)

	Stanford		San Jose	
	Men (N=328)	Women (N=356)	Men (N=281)	Women (N=167)
Location of job				
Necessary or important	90	88	74	83
Don't care or don't want	9	11	25	17
Daily contact with people				
Necessary or important	77	86	69	87
Don't care or don't want	21	12	29	13
Chance to advance in responsibility				
Necessary or important	82	70	89	78
Don't care or don't want	16	27	8	21

Due to some people not responding, some answers do not total to 100%.

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[14] In our interviews at the junior college, some of the students--in part perhaps stimulated by the possibilities that their junior college had opened up to them--compared themselves very favorably with the depressed co-workers they had encountered in their work in low-level jobs. This interrelation of the occupational ladder with self-esteem, mood, and emotional activeness deserves further exploration. One further instance of this interrelation appeared in the junior college students' relatively literal acceptance of what one might call the "movie" version of the American dream; Stanford students tend to be more critical and skeptical in this regard.

Eighty-one percent of Stanford senior women say that a woman college graduate should use her education for some pursuit in addition to her home and family. At the same time only 27% of the same women disagree with the statement that a woman can be happy and satisfied without working outside of her home.[15] This is one of many indications of ambivalence in regard to family and occupational roles. In interviewing women we have found the same person shifting within a short time span from one position to an opposing one. The full extent and nature of this ambivalence probably cannot be explored by observational studies alone, but can be determined only by creating situations in which women are actually given opportunities for expanded activities. Moreover, the problem goes beyond that of occupational choice and involves that of the fate of female autonomy strivings in the post-school years. The expression of such autonomy may well be inhibited for many women for whom having an occupation is not high in priority.

Different Decision Problems in Different Groups

It is important to keep in mind the differing kinds of aspirations in different groups of women. Marjorie Lozoff found great differences among four groups of women ordered on a descending scale of psychological autonomy. One hundred percent of the most autonomous planned to go to graduate school while only 27% of the least autonomous did. Sixty-seven percent of the most autonomous planned full time work when their children would be over twelve years old; only 20% of the least autonomous did. Interestingly, 84% of the most autonomous were married within two years after graduation and 60% of the least autonomous, and about 30% of each of the two groups in the middle.[16] Her sample was small (N=43) and, hence, her results are tentative. But her figures suggest that psychological autonomy, marriage, and occupation are well compatible. (Her other data also suggest that they are compatible with femininity as well.) Erikson has emphasized that in the course of development, identity formation needs to precede the capacity to relate and to care for others. Perhaps identity formation needs to precede occupational commitment as well. It seems that much current confusion and inappropriate occupational choices are due to people trying to "find" their identity via an occupation. They thus have only a half-formed self to give and can receive only partially appropriate satisfaction from a role in the selection of which fantasy, chance, and drift played such a large part.[17] The formation of identity may be aided by relevant occupational exposures, without initial commitment, during the undergraduate years.

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[15] Carole A. Leland. Op. cit., 54.

[16] Marjorie M. Lozoff. Op. cit., 82, 85.

[17] See Harold A. Korn. Careers: Choice, Chance or Inertia? In Joseph Katz and Associates. No Time for Youth. Chapter 5.

Understanding the career decision process requires recognition of differences among groups and of conflicts and ambivalences in the same person. The case histories collected for the study reported in No Time for Youth (See footnote 1) demonstrate this with richness of detail. They show that the occupational decision does not take place in an isolated psychological compartment of the person but is part and parcel of the whole constellation of impulse control and relationships to significant people in a woman student's past and present environments. We found that in many of our women seniors the occupational decision had been made with at least some psychological debits. For instance, in our sample there were two very brilliant science students. Both were encouraged by their teachers to pursue a scientific career. One of them chose to do so; her high academic performance is part of a personality characterized by strong impusle restriction, severe superego control, and a relatively hostile attitude to the environment. The other student gave up her scientific career and is aiming at a large family in keeping with the tradition of her family. She married a scientist and talks of his scientific publications as our papers. A third student struggling between strong erotic and professional drives compromised by marrying a man who allowed for some moratorium on her erotic tendencies in favor of a "colleagual" relationship that would allow her to develop her professional competencies further.

Still another student had a turbulent history in college because she needed to detach her occupational decision from dependence on her father. She went through several trial occupational attachments in college in line with her father's wishes. She needed to sort out conflicting identifications with a father she conceived as very powerful and effective and with a mother she conceived as vague and ineffectual--and she generalized her family--engendered conceptions into an overall distinction of the two sexes. Through the influence of a professional and maternal woman she came in contact with and was able to decide on an occupation that satisfied at once her intellectual and feminine dispositions. Her heterosexual development was still much in process as she graduated from college.

Another student whose family history had led her to deprecate herself could, in spite of her intellectual brilliance, not envisage a more than routine occupational path for herself. But a particularly traumatic experience of rejection by a man moved her to re-evaluate herself, to make a more correct appraisal of her psychological worth, and led to her entering a professional career.

In all these women, the occupational decision was an important ingredient in their psychological development. Many other women, even very gifted ones, bypass this particular source of conflict. For them the college years strongly serve the purpose of building a "trousseau" of mental and social accomplishments that they can bring into the marriage as part of their dowry. Finding the right man is the most steady thought during their four college years.

In most of the cases here cited the fate of sexual identity was intimately tied to the occupational decision. It points up the need--for the sake of both understanding and guidance--not to look at occupational choice without considering its psychological context. Specific occupations may become sexualized and conceived as "masculine" or "feminine" when such labels have little to do with the nature of the work itself, but become attached to them because of preconceptions formed in one's individual history or in one's socio-cultural setting.

Occupational choice is part of one's developing identity. But some caution is necessary. We may have equated too much what a person is with what occupation he has. There is a "Polonius" syndrome which consists in a person's identity becoming synonymous with his function in society. A good way of being a bore--as any shoptalker ought to know--is to become excessively cathected on one's work. The identification of what one is with one's job, has worked particularly to the disadvantage of women. In pilot interviews with adult women recently undertaken by this writer he has found that some of his interviewees give rather delighted descriptions of the pleasures that come from being able to pursue many different interests in succession. Thus a woman over a period of years may move from an interest in community work to taking up an art and from there to being a part-time student. Women in our society have this kind of opportunity much more than men. Thus while one can look at women from the point of view of manpower needs, it is important not to smuggle into this perspective a hidden value judgment that defines a person as fully human only if she has an occupation. In looking at women from the perspective of the development of the human potential, having a paid occupation may not appear as the only avenue. This is said without denying that the status quo of women who desire to have a paid occupation is not a satisfactory one.

From our analysis of factors influencing the occupational decision process the implication can be drawn that focusing only on occupational opportunity and occupational aptitude is not going to bring the job and the person together because of the network of social and psychological concomitants of the decision process. The importance of psychological factors is also underlined by the fact that, as previously suggested, many of the determinants of the occupational decision process remain partially or wholly outside of the consciousness of the decision maker. For that reason, strictly speaking, many, if not most people do not so much make the occupational decision as that the decision is being made for them. This is particularly worth pointing up in the light of the relatively small attention that schools and other social agencies give to intoducing more awareness into the occupational decision process.

Brief Summary

The following in brief summary are some major ingredients in the occupational decision process of college students: (1) social class, (2) culture or mores, (3) parental identifications and expectations, (4) significant peers, including boyfriends and fiances, (5) the college experience (a) directly through occupational experiences and (b) indirectly through experiences that helped to develop and stabilize the self-concept and (6) occupational opportunities, i.e., the direction given by the person's perception of what occupations are available to him or her. These six headings comprise many factors which work against having the individual achieve the satisfaction that comes from matching the person and his or her work.

Recommendations

Our data may have suggested to the reader many recommendations as he went along. In what follows we cannot exhaust all that may be said, but the following major recommendations stand out.

Perhaps the overarching problem in the development of college women is that of their autonomy strivings. As we have said, women are encouraged to develop intellectual, social, emotional and other independence throughout their schooling until the moment of graduation from college. The social context at graduation time shifts rapidly for many women diminishing the previous stimulation towards autonomy. Role requirements, the job situation, cultural attitudes all combine to encourage a more passive orientation towards further self-development and these may re-awaken a previously engendered disposition towards psychological passivity. As the problem of autonomy is wider than that of occupational choice, we will talk in what follows both about its occupational and non-occupational aspects.

In the occupational area we have noted the traditional social attitudes, accepted by women and men alike, that oppose or fail to provide for the occupational development of women. These attitudes are present in the college environment itself. On the one side, the college, curricularly and extracurricularly, sets up many incentives for women to develop their individual capacities. On the other side, there are more or less subtle counter-incentives: The number of women faculty, expect for a few women's colleges, is often minimal. What women faculty there are tend to be concentrated in departments that are considered more "feminine." There is hence a lack of capable women with whom the female students could identify. (There are losses for the male students as their image of femininity is adversely affected too.) The lack of female faculty also conveys an implicit message that the serious pursuit of academic and professional subjects is for men only. It encourages a climate of opinion in which already many male faculty and students bring belittling, sarcastic, or even hostile attitudes to the idea of the professional development of women. Our recommendation, therefore, is that there be a substantial increase in the numbers of women faculty members. In addition, arrangements should be made for bringing women students together with professional women who are not on the college or university staff. These contacts should be close, preferably in a work situation, and allow for acquaintance with the work and personal dimensions of being a professional woman.

It is clear that the opening up of more work opportunities for women will in part depend on changes in working conditions that allow women adequate time for their tasks of being a wife and mother. This involves provisions for new patterns of working hours, including time off for pregnancies and other immediate priorities particularly in the care of very young children. This is a matter of general social policy, but there are certain tasks that fall more directly within the domain of the college. The assumption of many undergraduate institutions is that the aim of undergraduate education for women is the attainment of a broadly defined liberal education with little or no professional training. This may be a workable assumption for the men because they receive professional training in the post-college years. But this assumption should be questioned in the education of undergraduate women, or at least some segment of them. Perhaps the aim for many women should be to have four or five undergraduate years eventuate in a combined liberal arts and professional degree. For instance, a re-definition of medical education may prepare women within this time span for becoming practitioners in many areas of medicine--with provisions of further professional supervision as they practice. There are many other occupations beside medicine that would allow women flexibility in regard to timing and quantity of hours and where colleagues or group arrangements could take care of emergency situations when a specific individual is not available. The proposed new professional training would allow women more easily to combine marriage with a career. It would also help their sense of psychological self-esteem. It may incidentally prevent some of the present semi-panic marriages that are strongly due to the notion that only having a man gives a woman the needed status, or allows her to be "independent" of her former home.

The colleges also should institute programs which would help produce greater awareness among women, and men, students of the occupational situation of women. This could be done among other things via college courses and student research and also through appropriate group and individual "counseling." One aim here would be to alert students to the actual situation and help them to plan better. Another aim would be the stimulation of the capacity of self-help. It is becoming increasingly clear that the best way for underprivileged groups to better their situation is through mobilizing their own resources. Undergraduate college women alerted to their own occupational situation are likely to be inventive in planning the actions and needed changes in the social structure that would give women greater scope for their occupational development.

A further recommendation for the education of female, and male, undergraduates is that there be made possible greater direct acquaintance with the world of work so that reality can replace fantasy in occupational choice. Undergraduates would be strengthened in their capacity for making realistic, informed, and responsible choices in the occupational area if this went hand in hand with their being given more responsibility in other areas for running their own affairs --this is now beginning to be the case in many colleges.

Acquaintance with the world of work ought to be matched with greater attention to fitting the right person to the right job. We have noted for instance that some prospective school teachers seem more interested in security than in children. Actual job experience combined with other awareness-producing procedures (e.g., appropriate "counseling") may well induce many people to select themselves out of occupations they previously considered. At the same time the college ought to have an eye on recruiting able people into professions where they may be needed, e.g., teaching or the just developing community health and urban "planning" professions. It may also become one of the university's functions to help re-define occupations and create new ones, not just to fit people into existing, sometimes ill-fitting, structures. Jobs may yet be created for people, not the other way around.

As one thinks of widening the occupational opportunities for women, the question of the optimal marriage age for women arises with new forces. Because of the interconnection of the development of occupational and general personality identity, a longer professional development may well lead to a postponement of a lasting marital commitment for many women. Our society may therefore in a not too distant future (many such arrangements already exist) face the existence of temporary unions, particularly among its more intelligent and professionally able young people. It may lead to marriages at a later average age. Two consequences thus may be (1) a decrease in the birth rate and (2) an increase in the frequency of mature marital choices.

Whatever the future may bring, there is the immediate problem of the young wives of college graduates, themselves often highly motivated for further educational and occupational development, who are now cast in the role of helping by their earnings to put their husbands through school. Via increased scholarship and loan arrangements and by encouraging changed social attitudes, we should work towards the goal of enabling these women, particularly the more able ones, to pursue their own professional training.

Some of our recommendations have stressed the need to increase the students' awareness of the factors involved in making their occupational decisions. This requires a change in existing counseling practices. Present counseling facilities often do not reach the students who do not of themselves come to the counseling office. In many institutions, counselors do not concern themselves sufficiently with the complex psychological constellations we have described as determining actual choices. The need is for professionals who are willing to work with groups of students over some extended periods of time and who through a combination of investigative information-gathering and psychologically exploratory techniques help students towards greater appropriateness in the career-decision process. Anyone who recommends techniques of psychological exploration ought to warn against a currently fairly widespread tendency to adopt superficial or even faddish techniques in the area of self-exploration. Our recommendation therefore is handicapped by the shortage of well-trained counseling practitioners--a manpower need outside the direct scope of this chapter but highly revelant to it.

We have referred in this chapter to the "sexualization" of the occupational decision, the tendency to regard certain occupations as feminine or masculine, and perhaps even to think of working in itself as not feminine. One of the specific tasks of counseling would be to "desexualize" the occupational decision so that it would not carry the burden of associations from other parts of the personality. In saying this, we are in no way denying the different perspectives women may bring to any occupation due to their difference from men in their life histories, biological constitution, or socialization.

Our study has brought to light differences in background, psychological dispositions and occupational orientation between our two institutions, Stanford and San Jose City College. In our two populations differences in aptitude and societal opportunities alone account for strong differences in aspirations and eventual status. But we also uncovered among the junior college students such psychological factors as lower self-esteem and more anxious security-mindedness. Greater attention to this psychological self-image will be needed for the sake of these students' well-being in an occupation and in their personal lives. By paying more attention to the out-of-classroom lives of their students, the junior colleges may find the knowledge they need for locating and beginning to modify the sources of lowered self-esteem.

Thus far we have primarily talked about the situation of women who actually or potentially are inclined to pursue a profession. As we said before, the actual extent of that desire cannot be determined by observational studies alone but requires testing by actually confronting women with widened opportunities, particularly if there is opportunity at the same time for increased psychological awareness.

But large segments of women will not opt for a career. The problem of the fate of female autonomy is nevertheless as salient for them as for those who desire a career. The unthinking tendency is to assume that those who choose the wife-mother status are "taken care of." But an adequate woman power policy will take this large segment of the female population under its wing too. For there is much work to be done. Colleges do little to prepare women for their tasks as wives and mothers and there is much that they cannot do. Much of the needed learning can be only on-the-job training. This on-the-job training is multidimensional from management skills to increased psychological sophistication in living with one's spouse and raising one's children. Only very rudimentary educational arrangements exist for this purpose at this moment; they need considerable expansion.

We envisage that as the appropriate educational facilities are developed, many housewives will be enlisted as "teachers" and "counselors" in helping others to develop the skills they need for functioning as homemakers and as maturing adults. We thus envisage what amounts to a new profession which would take women not out of their domestic situation but which would allow them to develop professional competence within it. The challenge to their skill would be the greater because they could rely less on the support of external status in practicing their profession. This new profession would also help bridge the age-old gap between the educational "expert" and the parent at home who does the actual educating.

Summary of Recommendations

To sum up some of our recommendations briefly, we suggest:

(1) A large increase in the number of women faculty members.

(2) The establishment of a combined liberal arts-professional undergraduate program for women.

(3) An undergraduate course sequence that acquaints women students with the occupational situation of women and enlists their cooperation in helping to find solutions.

(4) Greatly increased opportunities during the college years for students to have direct acquaintance with the world of work.

(5) A loan and scholarship program for able women married to graduate students who are financially prevented from pursuing further education.

(6) The development of new "counseling" procedures that would increase the students' awareness of the determinants of their career choices and would increase their awareness of their own interests, aptitudes, and opportunities. This includes a "desexualization" of the occupational decision process.

(7) A research and action program designed to increase self-esteem and decrease anxious security-mindedness in junior college students.

(8) The creation of educational institutions and arrangements to raise the level of functioning of women homemakers.

(9) The creation of a new profession addressed specifically to the management of marital-parental tasks.

Chapter II

ADULT WOMEN AT WORK AND AT HOME

Joseph Katz

The data for this chapter come mainly from the questionnaire we administered to 565 women between 26 and 50 years old.[1] These women comprise two groups of middle class women from two different points of the educational spectrum. One group had attended a selective four year private university (Stanford); the other group had attended a two year public junior college (Santa Rosa). In spite of the differences in socioeconomic background and education the similarities in attitudes to work and education, to child rearing and conception of feminine role are striking. They seem to show a community of middle class attitudes and behavior that cut across the differences of educational and social background. Life style and attitudes tend to transcend dissimilarities in income, social status and husband's occupation.[2]

The Role of Paid Work

Paid employment plays a very large role in the lives of these women. Ninety-two percent of the Stanford women and ninety-eight percent of the Santa Rosa women have had paid employment. Most of them have been employed between twenty and forty hours per week and for many years. At the time of our survey in 1968, 43% of the

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[1] See Appendix I for the report of the questionnaire results which underlie this chapter.

[2] Stanford and Santa Rosa women describe their educational needs in similar ways. They give similar reasons for why they work or worked. They show similar orientation in their attitudes to husbands and children. They differ socioeconomically. The Santa Rosa women's fathers and husbands are of a lower status than the Stanford women's; the Santa Rosa women also think themselves less often than the Stanford women as poised, well-dressed, analytic, able to express positive feelings, understanding their children and husbands.

In their employment patterns there are some differences and similarities. Twenty-four percent of both groups have been secretaries; a similar percentage have been teachers, but there are more high school and college teachers among the Stanford women. Twenty-two percent of the Santa Rosa women are in nursing or paramedical professions as contrasted with 6% of the Stanford women. Ten percent of the Stanford women are in creative or artistic occupations; only 1% of the Santa Rosa women are.

Stanford women and 61% of the Santa Rosa women are employed. Of those not working, about 40% from the Stanford group and over 50% from the Santa Rosa group say they are preparing themselves or planning for paid work in the near or the more distant future.

Those without paid work at the time of the survey most often say (80%) that they wish to give their families their full attention; nevertheless many of them still consider a career very important. Less than one third of all women in our survey consider a career unimportant. More than one half say that having a career in addition to being a wife and mother is important to them. They were familiar in the example of their own mothers with women holding jobs outside the home. Over 70% of our women say that their mothers had paid employment at one or another time in their lives. The role of work outside of the home in the lives of middle class women is underscored by the fact that 75% of the Stanford women and 66% of the Santa Rosa women say that during the five years before our survey they have been engaged in work other than homemaking and paid employment, such as work with youth groups, hospitals, fund-raising, service activities, political work.

The sense of expansiveness that may have been conveyed by our data thus far is quickly dispelled by a look at the jobs actually held by women. Only very small proportions of them are in such professions as medicine, dentistry, law, college teaching, or middle or high management. About one quarter of our women are found in secretarial or clerical work, another quarter in elementary or secondary school teaching. Among the Santa Rosa women an additional quarter are found in nursing, physical therapy, and similar occupations. Those women who are employed report much discrimination against them. Twenty percent of the women who had worked ten years or longer reported discrimination in hiring; 45% reported discrimination in salaries; 39%, discrimination in regard to tenure, seniority and promotions; and 34%, unwillingness and reservations by their employers to delegate administrative responsibility to women employees. As one might expect, those in traditionally female occupations, elementary school teachers, nurses, secretaries, report less discrimination than those in college teaching or creative-artistic professions. Those to whom a career is important for their self-fulfillment and those who have worked for more years report discrimination more often than the others.

The patterns of women's employment and employer attitudes seem to limit female occupational opportunities. Other limits come from their immediate environment. Of those women who do not have paid work, over 40% report that their husbands disapprove of their working. (But one can read this also as indicating that over half of those women do not single out their husbands as obstacles to their working.)

For many women a major factor in not seeking paid employment lies in their own inner dispositions. Many women give high priority to their domestic tasks. Eighty percent of those women who do not have paid employment say they like to give their full attention to their families. Many women derive special satisfaction from their homemaking tasks. When we asked our women to list for us those capabilities acquired since college with which they are particularly satisfied, we received these spontaneous responses. One third of the responses comprehend domestic skills and raising of children. About 20% refer to the capacity of dealing with and understanding people, a capacity particularly important in the maternal and wifely roles. About one fifth of the responses name bookkeeping, organizing, business skills, capacities that many wives develop as part of their domestic management. Only about one quarter of the items refer to such occupational skills as teaching, artistic, or editorial work.

The Desire for Further Education

Another major factor in women's not seeking paid employment or a career lies in their desire to develop themselves through further education rather than through a career. More than 40% of our respondents say that courses or training to further their education, but not for the sake of a career, is an unmet need. Only a third say that there is an unmet need of courses or training which would allow them to resume a career or prepare them for a new career. Our respondents desire further education even if they receive no credits for it. About 40% of the Stanford women say that they would participate in correspondence courses without receiving credit if these were offered by Stanford. An almost equal number say they would avail themselves of correspondence courses for credit. Twenty-five percent of the Santa Rosa women would take correspondence courses without credit, and 39%, for credit.

Our respondents are involved heavily in various kinds of adult education programs. Only 20% of the Stanford women and 34% of the Santa Rosa women have not taken such courses. About a third of the women have taken one or two adult education courses during the preceding five years. Twenty-one percent of the Stanford women and 12% of the Santa Rosa women have taken six or more such courses.

The desire for additional education is underlined by the fact that 45% of the Stanford women and 57% of the Santa Rosa women indicate that since they left college they have seriously desired to continue their education, but in fact have not done so. Most often they give the need to take care of their children as a reason for not continuing their education. Surprisingly few express any doubts about their abilities and only 11% give their husband's lack of encouragement as an important reason.

The extent to which women thought post-college education important, even if it does not lead to a career, is one of the findings of our study that surprised us. The meaning of this was clarified for us in group interviews of adult women. In these interviews adult women beyond their children's "diaper" years told us that one of the pleasures of their existence was the fact that they could pursue freely diverse interests, such as writing, artistic, organizational or political work, and that they could switch in different periods of their life to new interests. One might say that this freedom allows some of our middle class women to take on characteristics of the leisure or aristocratic classes of the past. The difference, however, is that these interests are pursued in addition to the often very demanding tasks of the household; our respondents feel very competent in dealing with these manifold tasks while at the same time complaining about lack of time.

Further light is thrown on women's interest in continued education in their response to another question. Thirty-four percent of the Stanford women and 41% of the Santa Rosa women list as an unmet present need courses or training directed primarily to their gaining greater self-understanding and understanding of other people. This response emphasizes the fact that women who opt for the domestic life are in need of further institutional support. We tend to be aware of the problems of women who wish an adequate entry into the occupational world. But we tend to assume that housewives are "taken care of." Yet the unmet emotional needs of adult women at home have been impressed upon us in this study. Many adult women need educational help to allow them to cope better with the tasks of child rearing, relating to husband, and above all, developing themselves as autonomous and purposive people.

Differences Between Employed and Not Employed Women

What are the differences between women who have paid employment and those who do not? We compared the Stanford women who reported themselves to have paid employment with those who reported themselves not employed at the time of our survey.[3] The employed women report themselves spending as much time with their husbands as the not employed. The employed describe helping their husbands with their problems and being helped by them as often as the not employed. The employed, however, say more often that their husbands greatly encourage them in their career aspirations or other interests outside the home. Fifty-seven percent of the employed women list their husband's support as compared with 42% of the not employed ($p < .001$).

The employed women spend less time cooking, housecleaning and shopping. They also spend less time reading newspapers and magazines, but employed women spend as much time reading books as non-employed. They spend somewhat less time being entertained in other people's

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[3] We compared only employed and non-employed married women and excluded single and divorced women.

Table 1

Use of Time by Employed and Not Employed Women
(Figures are percent.)

	Hours per week	Employed (N=124)	Not Employed (N=255)	p (From more complete table)
Cooking	0-8	41	17	
	9-14	40	38	
	15 or more	19	45	<.001
House cleaning	0-4	40	22	
	5-9	35	26	
	10 or more	15	52	<.001
Shopping	0-3	60	45	
	4 or more	40	55	<.001
Reading newspapers	0-3	44	29	
	4-6	27	36	
	7 or more	29	36	<.01
Reading magazines	0-2	67	54	
	3 or more	33	46	<.05
		(N=193)*	(N=260)*	
Reading books	0-3	35	41	
	4-5	24	18	
	6 or more	41	41	ns
Doing things together with husband	0-11	29	33	
	12-21	32	34	
	22 or more	39	33	ns
	Times per month			
Being entertained in other people's houses	0-1	35	25	
	2	28	30	
	3 or more	37	45	.05
Entertaining at own home	0-1	35	29	
	2	30	31	
	3 or more	35	30	ns
	Regular or Occasional Participation			
Political activities, clubs, or organizations		42	45	ns
PTA		50	56	ns
Religious groups		45	54	ns

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*For this item alone the calculations include about 20% divorced and single women.

houses, but entertain in their own homes as often as the not employed. They participate as often as the not employed in political clubs and activities, in the P.T.A., and in religious groups. But they spend somewhat less time in work other than homemaking or paid employment, such as community volunteer work, alumni activities-- 70% as compared with 84%. Interestingly enough the employed do not have any more hired help with the household work than do the not employed. Even though the children of the employed women are somewhat older than those of the not employed-- 51% have children eleven years or older compared to 35%-- our data show a remarkable picture of an almost equal activity level inside and outside ~~of~~ the house of the employed women in addition to the time spent on the job (Tables 1 and 2). It raises the intriguing question of what the non-employed women do with their "extra" time, that is, whether they make the most efficient use of it.

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Table 2

Household Help Used by Employed and Not Employed Women
(Figures are percent.)

	Employed (N=125)	Not Employed (N=259)
No help	54	46
Occasional help	5	10
Cleaning woman once or twice a week	35	36
Full time housekeeper	6	7

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Women who are employed at the time of our survey differ from women who are not in regard to the benefits they expect from work. Service to others, a chance to be outside of their home, and to develop themselves as a person are more frequently cited as reasons for working by the employed than the non-employed. But there are also financial reasons. The employed say more often than the non-employed that they work in order to help finance educational opportunities for their children. But currently employed women say considerably less often than non-employed women that to provide all or most of the income for themselves or their families is or was an important reason for their working (Table 3). A look at Table 3 also shows that there is a difference in intensity between the employed and the non-employed women. The employed women are much more likely to indicate that they have important reasons for their working. "Just to occupy time" is not among the reasons for working frequently emphasized by them.

Table 3

Reasons for Working of Employed and Not Employed Women
(Figures are percent.)

	Employed (N=121)			Not Employed (N=212)			P
	Important Reason	Minor Reason	Not a Reason	Important Reason	Minor Reason	Not a Reason	
To serve people other than own family.	47	28	25	23	29	49	<.001
To be outside of home. . . .	37	30	33	16	20	65	<.001
To help finance children's education	25	16	59	5	5	90	<.001
To provide all or most income for self or family. .	31	12	58	50	8	42	<.001
To develop self as a person	64	24	12	47	25	28	<.002
To make family financially more comfortable. . .	34	39	27	20	25	34	<.001
To be and work together with other people.	54	27	19	42	28	30	<.05
To occupy time	27	21	52	36	24	40	ns
To have sense of independence	43	33	24	38	23	39	<.02

The currently employed women have received more post-college education or training than their peers-- 82% compared to 61% ($p < .001$). Much of this training seems job-oriented, falling into such categories as work for teaching credentials, business and professional preparation. Those women currently employed have worked for more years than those not now working, a median of 6-9 years compared to 2-5 years.

There are no differences between the currently employed and non-employed in regard to their undergraduate majors. But they differ in their occupations. About equal portions of employed and non-employed are or were elementary school teachers. But only one fourth of the secretaries are currently working. The same holds for the nurses. Two fifths of the skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled workers are currently employed. But two thirds of the high school teachers are still working and so are five out of six college teachers, whose number in our sample, however, is small. Three fourths of the women in creative fields, such as writing, editing, and fine arts, are still employed. With the possible exception of nursing, those occupations which tend to be regarded as temporary stopgaps before marriage, or as "insurance" in case of loss of husband, or as primarily of monetary use tend to hold women less than those that require an investment of their personalities.

The employed women tend to be different from the not employed in their political orientations. They are more often liberal Democrats (20% vs. 10%) and less often conservative Republicans (22% vs. 34%)-- $p < .02$ for the complete table. We found no differences between religions in our sample. The employed and the not employed do not appreciably differ in their sense of how well they are managing their many different activities, tasks and responsibilities. The employed and the non-employed describe themselves equally as attractive and feminine; they do so in resoundingly large numbers. Over 80% of both groups describe themselves as attractive and about 70% of both groups describe themselves as feminine.

We have referred to four major spheres in the lives of adult women: domestic tasks, paid work, unpaid activities outside of the home, and continuing education either through formal institutions or one's own initiative. We do not know to what extent women's activities outside of the home and their pursuit of education are involuntary in the sense that women might not choose these activities if the avenues into paid employment were more fully open. At any rate there is for many women a discontinuity between their education and their occupation. Their schools and colleges stimulate them to develop their interests and capacities, but they cannot as easily as the men give concrete expression to their interests and capacities in a career. If one assumes that the gratification of a "sense of workmanship," to use Veblen's term, is a basic human need, women in our society are severely handicapped. They are handicapped by not having an outlet in work which alone gives concreteness to interest and capacity and by not having the institutional supports of the continuing communities, whether these are business, university, or other communities, that allow men to continue to learn and grow in competence.

Evidence for our assertion of the psychological importance of paid work comes from the responses of half of our women that developing themselves as persons is an important reason for their working. Nearly half also say that to have a sense of independence is an important reason for their working. Women who are employed at the time of our survey give both reasons in somewhat larger proportions than those who are not.

The Importance of the Domestic Sphere

Having shown the importance of paid employment for our women, we observe next that this orientation is not at the detriment of family and home. The domestic sphere is very important in the lives of all of our women, whether they are career-oriented or not. Almost all give their husbands priority. Nearly 90% of our women say that they would prefer their husband to have strong priority in decision making. The currently employed and not employed women report themselves spending about the same amount of hours doing things with their husbands, sharing interests and worries with them. Those who currently are employed more often report their husbands as encouraging them in their career aspirations and other interests outside of the home, while of the employed nearly half say that their husbands are opposed to their having a job. So women seem either to select husbands who share their views concerning a career or to accomodate themselves to them if they differ.

When asked to list accomplishments, the women very much stress the domestic sphere. We gave our respondents a list of seventeen activities and asked them to indicate which of these they could do well, which adequately, and which poorly. The three highest activities listed by them are understanding their husbands, managing the household, and being creative around the house, such as sewing, gardening, and decorating. The two lowest activities are discussing and analyzing political events and contributing to political or community activities. There is harmony between what the women say is important to them and what they say they can do well. Nearly 100% say that it is very or moderately important to them to understand their husbands. Only about 60% say that it is very or moderately important to them to contribute to political or community activities. But it should be noted also that many more women say that contributing to political or community activities is important to them than say that they are able to do it well. Only 27% of the Stanford women and 15% of the Santa Rosa women say they can do it well.

What in further detail does the homelife of the adult women look like? About half of them in a typical week spend fourteen or more hours on cooking, seven or more hours on housecleaning, two or more hours on gardening, four or more hours on marketing and shopping. The other half report themselves as spending less time on these activities. About half of the women who have younger children spend eleven or more hours per week on direct child care, such as bathing, dressing, driving them. Twenty-seven percent of the Stanford women who graduated in 1961 or 1962 say that they spend 24 hours or more on direct child care, while only 14% of their Santa Rosa peers say so. In a typical week about half of our women report that they spend four hours or more on the daily newspaper, two hours or more on general or news magazines, one hour or more on women's magazines, four hours or more on fiction or non-fiction books, and six hours or more in watching television. About one fourth of the Stanford women and one sixth of the Santa Rosa women report themselves as spending three hours or more on professional reading.

Most of our respondents say that in a typical month they have been entertained two times in other people's homes and have entertained in their own homes about two times. They go out for dinner without their children about once or twice a month, to a show or concert about twice. They engage in a sports activity (golf, tennis, swimming, etc.) about three times a month. Among community and club activities, the greatest participation is in the following: service or fund raising activities, religious groups, P.T.A. The League of Women Voters draws only about 10%. But 42% of the Stanford women participate regularly or occasionally in political activities and organizations, while only 22% of the Santa Rosa women do so.

It is of interest that our women report themselves as receiving relatively little help with children and the class differences here do not seem to loom very large. Seventy-two percent of the Stanford women and 80% of the Santa Rosa women report themselves as currently receiving no help with their children. In regard to housekeeping, 51% of the Stanford and 84% of the Santa Rosa women say that they receive no help; 34% of the Stanford and 8% of the Santa Rosa women say that they have the help of a cleaning woman once or twice a week.

Our women also spend some time each week with their surviving parents and parents-in-law. About a third of the Stanford women have their own mothers living either with them, within walking distance, or within the radius of about an hour's distance. Over 50% of the Santa Rosa women have their mothers living that close by. A fifth of the Stanford fathers and a third of the Santa Rosa fathers live in the same kind of proximity. The figures for in-laws are nearly as high as for one's own parents.

Our adult women lead extremely busy lives and documents we will quote later will make this even more clear. We gave our respondents a list of ten items and asked them which of them had been sources of dissatisfaction for them during the last one or two years. Only one item stands out and that is the complaint about not having enough time. Nearly one half of our women respondents say that lack of time has been a great source of dissatisfaction for them and 81% say that it has been a great or moderate source of dissatisfaction.[4] That our women complain about lack of time is not surprising, given the lack of help in the household, the absence of the father during the day, the many different activities of the children which involve the mothers as helpers, managers, drivers, organizers, and their own manifold activities, educational, philanthropic, and social.

Our study has astounded us by the multiplicity of women's activities and has given us a wholesome respect for the capacity of the American woman to handle so many activities with so much confidence. It should be noted that the problem of the use of time is endemic in American culture; it affects men as well as women. We see it a most important psychological task to initiate a full investigation of the use of time by Americans in order to determine where savings of time can be made and the rhythm of daily activities can be readjusted. In spite of much current talk about greater leisure in the more or less immediate future, the middle class American, man or woman, has too little time and hence his life is beset by a sense of not enough leisure, not enough opportunity to savor his experiences, and often a sense of harrassment. The physical and mental fatigue of over-activity is one of the aspects of middle class culture against which many young people are rebelling.

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[4] Other sources of great or moderate dissatisfaction reported by about half of our respondents are constant interruptions and lack of intellectual or artistic activities. Over a third also complain about lack of fun.

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In the midst of the busy lives that our women and their husbands lead, over half of the women report themselves as spending with their husbands in a typical week twelve hours specially devoted to each other. These are hours in addition to meal and bed times, and include such things as talking, walking, dancing, working together. The women's centeredness on home, husband and family seems to correlate with the attention they report their husbands giving to them. Only about one fourth say that their husbands talk little with their wives about the latter's worries, errors, or painful experiences. Less than one fifth say that their husbands do not welcome their wive's help with their own work interests or work problems. Less than 10% say they receive little help from their husbands with their problems about the rearing of their children. Only about 15% say that they receive little encouragement from their husbands in regard to their interests outside of the home.

Women who report more attention by their husbands also tend to have a greater sense of competence, describe themselves more often as feminine, express their feelings more openly, and spend more time with their husbands. Women whose husbands do not encourage them to have paid employment report not only less interest in a career, but also describe themselves as spending more time on cooking, cleaning, sewing and as being good party givers.

That there are deep roots in the person's history determining choice of husband is shown when one compares the occupations of our women's fathers and the men they marry. Similarities in the occupations of these two groups are striking. At Stanford 28% of the women have professional fathers (engineers, physicians, lawyers, college professors) and 34% have professional husbands. Twenty-four percent have fathers in middle or high management and 23% have husbands in middle or high management. At Santa Rosa there is some upward mobility. Thirty-two percent have fathers who are workers and only 21% have husbands who are workers. Three percent have professional fathers and 8% have professional husbands. These figures are one more indication of the relative persistence of the class structure in American society. But there seem to be more specific psychological influences at work-- indicating that the daughter's expectations of a husband are patterned on her father's characteristics. In a large number of cases the husband's occupation is very much like or even identical with that of her father. Table 4 reports on twenty pairs of randomly selected fathers and husbands. The pairs are listed in chronological order beginning with the oldest alumnae and ending with the youngest. In two of the twenty pairs the occupations are identical and in another eight they are very similar.

Table 4

Father's and Husband's Occupation of Stanford Women

Father's Occupation when Respondent in College	Husband's Present Occupation
Attorney	Attorney
Screen writer	Physician
National park ranger	Civil service foreman of Airforce shop
County tax collector	Free lance advertising artist
Lawyer	Manufacturer's representative
Bookbinder	Management analyst Navy supply center
Army officer	U. S. Department of State
College professor	Research sociologist
Carpenter	Navy physician
Building contractor	President of plastic packaging business
Physician	High school teacher
Professor of physiological psychology	Management controls manager in large corporation
Congregational minister	Pediatrician
Government auditor	Director of administration for large corporation
Civil engineer	Civil engineer
Vice president for sales of large corporation	Attorney for large city firm
Department store manager	College instructor of mathematics
Real estate investor	Physician
Owner of tract house construction company	Executive in aerospace communications management
TV film editor	Production planner with airlines company

Our women's centeredness on their husband is corroborated by what they tell us in spontaneous replies to an open-ended question at the end of our questionnaire. We asked them to tell us what since they were undergraduates had contributed to making their lives better and what had hindered making it so. Many women single out their husbands as greatly contributory to the success of their lives. A woman in her middle thirties married to a professor and herself a part-time college teacher writes the following:

> "The greatest single factor has been my marriage to a man who has encouraged my aspirations, tolerated my faults, provided me with a stable, thoughtful love. He has been generous beyond my deserving, firm when I waver, soothing when I am tense. His chief flaw, a huge reserve in self-sufficiency, has forced me to develop my own independence... He is an excellent father also, so that our children receive from him the things I lack-- tolerance or patience, and humor. He is the bedrock upon which I have built my life and has yet made me independent of him in many ways."

A 30 year old woman married to a businessman and herself an occasional writer who considers a career very important to herself says:

> "Marriage certainly made my life better by giving me an equilibrium and a general sense of confidence which, although I might have appeared to have them previously, were not thoroughly integrated in my personality. Basically I felt more independence and more freedom since my marriage."

A woman in her middle thirties who is not employed and to whom a career is not important, who is married to a business executive and has five children writes:

> "My marriage to my husband was the biggest factor in my life. He is a far more travelled, well-read, mature, sound-thinking person than I, a deep thinker and a man of many interests and abilities. He has exposed me to ways of life, ideas that I never would have known if I hadn't met him. He also is more energetic and interested in 'doing' than I. I tend to be a homebody and 'stick in the mud,' not too interested in lots of changes."

But as we know, and as is given evidence by the high divorce rate in our society, the picture of husband-wife relationships has many dark spots. Here is a woman in her late forties with three children who writes in response to the question what hindered making her life better:

> "First: I married the wrong man!! He is a 'man's man,' not one bit sensitive, and doesn't like 'small talk.' (He talks all day!) I, on the other hand am overly sensitive (not proud of it) and feel shut out of his world, but have learned to adjust."

Other women are giving serious thought to the dangers of undue reliance upon marriage alone as a means of achieving a satisfactory life. A 28 year old woman with two children, married to a businessman, writes:

> "No one ever told me that fulfillment in life comes through performance and achievement, that marriage for a woman is not the be-all, end-all of existence, that there are many years in a woman's life, after her children are grown, when she has a need to be productive in some area. I was one who should have been told this and there must have been someone at the university who could have told me. I feel strongly the importance of imposing upon girls the need for at least preparing for a career, whether they marry right out of college and wait years to pursue it or go right into it. I feel that the counseling at the

> university, when I was there, was definitely lacking in this respect. Fortunately, for slow starters like myself, women have lots of time and, having missed my first opportunity, there may be others in the future."

A similar approach is taken by a 35 year old woman with three children:

> "My complete absorption in the wife-mother role has prevented me from realizing until recently the importance of every woman's being able to support herself financially, for her own mental well-being as well as for practical reasons. A woman should prepare herself carefully for a career other than marriage and motherhood whether or not she plans to marry. If she does marry and raise a family, not working outside the home or discontinuing such work to devote more time to the family during its growing years, she should make every effort to keep herself up to date in her chosen field. In this way not only will she then be prepared to contribute to family income if necessary but she will be a more well-rounded person as a wife and mother."

Finally, a woman in her middle forties with four children mirrors what Anne Scott[5] has described so well, women's discovery of their own powers when due to the absence or loss of husbands they have to confront tasks that they previously had not thought themselves capable of. She writes:

> "My husband was called as a reserve during the war. Our separation for 18 months was difficult for me. I began to make decisions and to enjoy it for the first time in my life. Since he is the product of a very traditional home, my increasing independence shook the foundations of our home. Therapy has contributed to my personal development and to the development of our children's values without measure, but it has hindered the development of a happy home and disrupted personal relationships with both sets of in-laws."

The statements here quoted give a sense of the complex details in the lives of the different women who report themselves as "much" or "moderately" or "little" helped by their husbands. They describe the polarities of dependence and disappointment, encouragement and loss of autonomy, affectionate acceptance and scarcely disguised hate and rejection. We shall return in greater detail at the end of this chapter to these differences in women's emotional lives.

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[5] Anne Scott. The Southern Lady. Chicago University Press, 1970.

High Sense of Competence

Our women respondents express a high opinion of themselves. When we asked them how well they are managing their many different tasks and responsibilities, such as housekeeping, mothering, employment, only a negligible 2% say that they are not doing well; 67% of the Stanford women and 58% of the Santa Rosa women say that they are doing well or very well. Eighty-one percent of the Stanford women and 65% of the Santa Rosa women describe themselves as attractive. About 70% of both groups describe themselves as feminine and close to 80%, as well-groomed. Only about 10% feel that when they were 21 their overall physical attractiveness to men was less than fair. Only 7% describe themselves as sexy-- perhaps this concept because it seems to isolate sex, has greater significance to males than to females. Even their health is reported to be in excellent shape. Only 4% say that their health is at the present time fair or poor. About 80% describe their health as either excellent or very good.

Our respondents also express themselves quite confidently as being able to handle their own problems without any outside help. Only 17% of the Stanford and 27% of the Santa Rosa women say they are much or very much in need of guidance to cope with their feelings, attitudes or emotions. Only a fifth say that an unmet need for them is to take aptitude tests that would indicate what their special strengths are. Only about a fifth of our respondents feel little in control over what happens to them and forced by events or people to do things against their will.

Only a quarter of the women of all ages between 26 and 50 say that their life goals have changed much since their last year in college. Does this betoken contentment or stagnation? From what we know about our population we would suggest that it is both. A more cautious attitude to life is expressed also in the fact that only a third of the respondents say that when they find themselves disagreeing with what their friends do or say, they definitely will let them know how they feel about it.

Our respondents see themselves as quite competent in handling their domestic tasks. We gave them a list of seventeen different activities and 80% or more of the Stanford women say they are doing adequately or well in fourteen of these activities. (The Santa Rosa women so declare themselves in regard to twelve of the seventeen activities.) The women feel they do best in understanding their husbands, managing the household, and in creative domestic activities, such as decorating, sewing, gardening. They say they do poorest in sports, or outdoor activities, in analyzing political events, and in being artistically creative.

It is of interest that the proportions of women who describe themselves as doing well in disciplining their children are relatively small in comparison to other items. About a third of the Stanford women say so and a quarter of the Santa Rosa women. Is this part of the uneasiness of what authority is and a sense of not knowing when, where and how to control children that is so characteristic of our society today?

All in all, our women engage in a wide range of activities and feel they are doing a satisfactory job. Perhaps activity feeds on activity and people may be able to do more by being in two spheres of activity than in just one. In her study of women Ph.D.'s Helen Astin has shown how these women have a remarkable capacity of combining many activities and handling very well the interruptions and transitions (Helen S. Astin The Woman Doctorate in America. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1969). Our data indicate that many other women share this capacity, a capacity in which at the present time they seem to be superior to men.

The satisfaction that our respondents express with themselves and their lives surprised us. The high divorce rate, the books and articles that complain about women's subservient roles, the emergence of such movements as the Women's Liberation Front, which seems to present ideas shared in a more moderate fashion by many other women, had made us expect a greater expression of dissatisfaction. We are puzzled. It could be, of course, that the women we studied need to reduce dissonance between their aspirations and the realities of their lives by convincing others and themselves that their fate is a good one. It could be also that, as has been characteristic of women in the past, they are used to expressing dissatisfaction in a lower voice. Perhaps the solution to our puzzle cannot be given even by further studies, but only by social experiment. For instance, social scientists could test the strength of women's commitment to the domestic career by setting up conditions that present women with opportunities for a different kind of life style: access to training and occupation that do not resemble an obstacle course, and adequate supporting facilities, such as child care centers. In the society at large we seem to be at the beginning of a grand natural experiment. Women are forging a new ideology asking loudly for greater access to occupations and an end to social and financial discrimination. What will happen in the light of such a philosophy of rising expectations the future will tell. But perhaps one does not need to be a major prophet to say that the traditional conception of sex roles in our society will never be the same again.

Political Affiliation and Attitudes to Work and Home[6]

In analyzing our data[7] we found that a woman's attitudes to work and home, her life style, and her psychological dispositions differ with her political affiliations. For instance, politically conservative women tend to be more oriented towards home and they tend to be less open in the expression of their feelings.

We asked our respondents what their present political leanings are and what they were in their last college year. Political leanings comprehended conservative and liberal Democrats, Republicans, Independents, and Socialists (Table 5). The Republicans most often give as their reason for not working that they want to give full attention to their families. Ninety-one percent of the conservative Republicans, and 62% of the liberal Democrats and the liberal Independents say so ($p < .001$). The Republican women also are more inclined to feel that it is not good for a mother to hold an outside job even when her children are quite grown, that is, 14-17 years old. Twenty percent of the Republicans give this response as against 8% of the liberal Democrats and Independents ($p < .01$ for the complete table).

The Republican women much more often report their husbands as being opposed to their having a job. Sixty percent of the conservative Republicans say this; 43% of the liberal Republicans; 35% of the liberal Democrats; and 17% of the liberal Independents ($p = .001$). The Republicans say less often that their husbands encourage them in their career aspirations or other interests outside of the home (41% for the Republicans and 62% for the liberal Democrats and Independents-- $p < .01$). The greater home-orientedness of the Republican women may also be indicated by the fact that they read women's magazines much more often than the other women. Fifty-eight percent of the liberal Democrats say they do not read women's magazines; 51% of the liberal Independents say so, as compared with 28% of the conservative Republicans and 41% of the liberal Republicans-- $p < .01$. (This calculation omits about 14% who did not respond or were not codable.)

But it is not only the pull of other responsibilities that make the Republican women less inclined towards seeking outside employment. They say more often than their peers that a career is not important for their own self-fulfillment. Thirty-seven percent of conservative and liberal Republicans take this position as aginst 17% of the liberal Democrats and Independents ($p < .01$).

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[6] This section on political affiliation is a rewritten and somewhat expanded version of a draft by Ronald Starr based on his analysis of the data.

[7] Because of their much larger number only the data for the Stanford women were analyzed. We compared the four largest groups of women: liberal Democrats, conservative Republicans, liberal Republicans, and liberal Independents on 62 questions selected to gain a wide variety of information about them.

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Table 5

Past and Present Political Leanings of Stanford Women
(Figures are percent.)

The first of each set of two columns lists leanings in last undergraduate year; the second lists present leanings.

	39-40		45-46		53-54		61-62		Total	
Conservative Independent	0	1	4	4	2	4	2	6	2	4
Conservative Republican	47	33	46	40	33	25	28	20	38	29
Conservative Democrat	6	4	11	6	5	5	10	6	8	5
Liberal Republican	25	46	17	31	31	37	29	30	26	36
Liberal Democrat	11	8	11	13	20	15	21	21	16	14
Liberal Independent	4	8	4	5	2	11	5	15	4	10
Socialist	1	1	3	2	2	2	0	1	1	1
Other or None	5	0	4	0	6	2	6	1	5	1

Significance of difference between Stanford classes:

Past political leanings: $p = .05$
Present political leanings: $p = .02$

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Varying commitments to career are also reflected in the kind of jobs that women of different political orientations have held. Thirty-six percent of the conservative Republicans as against 21% of the liberal Democrats, Republicans and Independents have held secretarial jobs. Liberal Democrats are more likely to be elementary school teachers-- 19% vs. 9% for the remaining women. Conservative Republicans constitute 6% of the high school and college teachers as against 10% for the other women. Twenty-two percent of the liberal Independents tend to go into creative jobs in writing, the arts, entertainment, as against 8% for the rest (Significance of the difference between jobs $p < .02$).

Beside the difference in orientation to career and home, there are many differences in psychological dispositions and life style. Seventy percent of the liberal Independents say that they can do well in expressing openly their positive feelings. 51% of the liberal Democrats and Republicans say so and 33% of the conservative Republicans ($p < .001$). About twice as many liberal Independents as conservative Republicans say they can do well at expressing openly their negative feelings. Twenty-five percent of the conservative Republicans as against 49% of the liberal Independents ($p < .01$) say they will let their friends know when they do or say things with which they do not agree. Perhaps this lesser openness to expressing one's feeling is also expressed in the conservative Republican's lesser sense of being able to help others with their emotional problems. Twenty percent of them say they can do it well as against 37% for the liberal Independents ($p = .07$).

There are interesting differences between Republicans and liberal Democrats and Independents in their activities outside of the home. About half of the Republicans, but only about 20% of the liberal Democrats and Independents are active in women's social clubs. Over three fourths of the Republicans are active in service or philanthropic activities, but only about half of the liberal Democrats and Independents are. Thus energies and attention that the liberal Democrats and Independents devote to career and possibly political involvement, the Republican women devote more to social and charitable activities. The Republican women also participate more often in religious groups. Sixty percent of the conservative Republicans do so regularly or occasionally; 51% of the liberal Republicans, 31% of the liberal Democrats and 34% of the liberal Independents ($p < .001$). In the political sphere only 4% of the conservative Republicans are active in the League of Women Voters as against 19% of the liberal Independents ($p < .01$). Conservative women feel less well equipped to discuss and analyze political events. Over 40% of the conservative Republicans say they do it poorly as against 11% of the liberal Independents ($p < .001$).

There is a trend in the four college generations studied by us towards more Democratic and less Republican orientations (Table 5). This may reflect many different factors in the political allegiances of the socioeconomic classes from which Stanford students are drawn and varying college admission applicants. Allowing for this our respondent groups still show within themselves shifts in political allegiance. They have moved in a more liberal direction. Fifty percent of our respondents retained the political position they held in their last college year. But of the other half, 31% have become more liberal and 19%, more conservative.

These results are most interesting and open up questions as yet unanswered. College is widely held to have a liberalizing influence on students and a variety of studies and opinion surveys at many different institutions have shown that students support more liberal candidates and causes in their senior year than they did in their freshman year. But for the years after college one might have predicted a shift towards more conservatism. One might surmise that while the college environment is more liberal and hence exercises an influence in that direction on the less firmly committed, the post-college environment is more conservative and thus exerts a corresponding force. Moreover, interests connected with one's social status and economic disposition bend many people towards a more conservative political orientation. Indeed 19% of our women have become more conservative. But the shift to liberalism is surprising. Nearly a third of our women turn more liberal between their last year in college and the present. This is true for the oldest alumnae in our samples as well as for the more recent ones. It would be very desirable to investigate what experiences and considerations turned these affluent and privileged women to a more liberal orientation. We know at least that those who work and who are in more self-fulfilling jobs tend to be more liberal. Could it be that those who attempt to master life more autonomously also tend to be politically more liberal?

There is another important implication to our findings. Our data contribute one further piece of evidence that personality and political allegiance are related. Women's political orientations vary with their attitudes to child-rearing and to occupation. They show different relations to their husbands, their friends and themselves. This relationship between character and political affiliation helps to explain the relative persistence of political views. It also shows why rational persuasion and force of argument often are relatively powerless in changing people's voting tendencies. It would be nice if people voted on each issue in the light of the rational considerations that make the one or the other solution more attractive. But the forces against this are intellectual lassitude, the vested interests of one's socioeconomic status, and, as our data help confirm, character. The influence of character means that we are facing each other in the political arena in terms of differences due to cherished psychological goals and cherished prejudices, i.e. defenses to maintain a neurotic balance. If we as a society could move more towards a psychological pluralism that more easily allows people different psychological life styles, different ways for instance for women to rear children or to work, we might lessen the tensions that aggravate our political battles and keep it on a sloganeering level because we fear to expose or become aware of our underlying convictions.

Variety of Women's Life Styles

Our questionnaires have revealed much variety in our women's behavior, their expectations in regard to education, jobs, home, and in their politics. Our women are different in their psychological make-up and their relations to themselves. To make this picture more vivid we turn in this section to the diaries and interview data collected by us for illustrations that bring out more dramatically the variety of life styles among middle class women.

As this writer read through these materials, the women seemed to group themselves readily into the following five categories which are offered here not as definite typology but as an attempt to convey a sense that underneath what binds our women together as human beings there are also stark contrasts and sharply different ways of coping with life or defending against it. Five life styles are distinguished here: the workers, the martyrs, the producers, the leisure-seekers, and the self-loving.

The workers may be described as people who perform their domestic and other tasks in a competent fashion. They are often not particularly sparkling or even joyful. But they get the work done and they do it in a way that is minimally destructive to themselves and to others. The martyrs by contrast are those who use working or not working as a vehicle of complaint and even destructiveness. The producers are people who at home or at work make creative contributions to their family and to society and who at the same time bring about a fuller realization of their own potential than most women accomplish. The leisure-seekers look upon life as a great opportunity for comfort. They superficially appear to be pleasure seekers, but the pleasure they are after is often limited because of the self-centeredness and even selfishness of their aspirations. Finally, the self-loving are people who have great freedom in the expression and gratification of their impulses and they often have an aesthetic orientation to the world. In the fantasy lives of many women they are the culture heroines of our society. Hollywood often tries to portray them on and off the screen, though ironically in their private lives these actresses are often far from self-loving.

Out data do not allow us to say in what proportions these "types" of women can be found in our population. But in what follows we can present them mostly in their own words. The first three reports come from diaries and the last two from interviews. In the diaries we asked the women to make an entry every hour of the day, to tell us in the left hand column what they were doing, and in the right hand column what were their thoughts and feelings about the hour's activities. The days for which to keep the diary were chosen by us, not by our respondents.

A Worker

The following is a day in the life of a "worker," a woman in her early thirties.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
5-6 a.m. Hemmed coulotte dress to wear today. Pinned wrong and didn't look right. Crawled back in bed.	
6-7 a.m. 6:30 Alarm went off. 6:45 Up and made bed. Got dressed.	1. Giving luncheon today. 2. How will husband's day be? 3. Asked him if he wanted parkay floors in our new addition to house.
7-8 a.m. Made breakfast. Ate. Bid husband farewell. Prepared figs for jam. Hard boiled 5 eggs. Fed cat.	Wondered if I would have house in order by 11 a.m. Mad that I hadn't picked up every room the night before and made the salad. Wished I were a better housekeeper.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
8-9 a.m. Braided daughter's hair. Made children's beds. Picked up other rooms of house. Cleaned bathrooms.	Same thoughts as previous hour. Panic-- rushed around picking up stuff from on top of my desk, kitchen counter, and stuffed them in closet. Wished I had had time day before to put everything away the way it should be. Things seem to accumulate-- little by little.
9-10 a.m. Made crab salad for luncheon. 9:20 Child came to spend morning. Cleaned up kitchen-- breakfast dishes, plus last night's pans. 9:30 Mom called long distance.	9:30 Talked with mother who brought child about party at school. I'm head room mother for 2nd grade. She is assistant room mother. Her job was the party. I didn't care if she paid for it all by herself. Figured she could work that party out to suit herself--either have mothers bring things or buy it all herself.
10-11 a.m. Swept front walk and back patio. Picked up toys in yard. Dressed young son. Got dressed for luncheon.	Glad I had made deadline of party.
11 a.m. - 12 noon 11 a.m. Guests arrived. Served coffee. Showed them our house plans. Talked about big dinner for company that we were to plan today.	Glad to see friends and chat. Felt we made good plans for big party for the company.
12 noon - 1 p.m. 12-12:30 Oiled salads, baked rolls, set table. 12:45 Luncheon served.	I'm the boss's wife and I didn't want to butt in too much. Liked salad and I stayed out of discussion. Felt that the people had a lot of good ideas. Glad husband had recommended I have another wife be in charge of arrangements.
1-2 p.m. Served dessert - poured more coffee. Put son down for nap.	
2-3 p.m. 2:30 Guests left. Cleared luncheon dishes to kitchen. Sat down to write this.	Sorry-- I didn't have time before this to give exact thoughts and what I was doing.
3-4 p.m. Daughter came home from school. I went to vote-- returned. 3:30 Another child came to spend afternoon (be sat with). Did luncheon dishes.	Talked to daughter's teacher while at school voting. Discussed party and her fiancé returning from Vietnam. Thought about what to fix for dinner-- debate between lamb and crab.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
4-5 p.m. Listen to daughter's piano practice. Rested-- read cook book for crab recipes. Went to neighbors with house plans-- came back.	Wondered what to fix for dinner-- wished we could go out. Children were complaining.
5-6 p.m. Another friend dropped by with child. Sat and chatted while kids played.	Discussed voting, friends, my luncheon. After she left I wondered why she had been sponsored for Junior League and I had not. Decided I was not completely left out, perhaps people wouldn't feel as resentful toward me. Perhaps most people don't care about such things any way. Good rationalization? Husband joked with me about form I was filling out. Said perhaps there should have been another entry in morning!!
6-7 p.m. 6:00 Friend left. I read paper. Strung beans-- started crab dish to be done in chafing dish. Decided just to serve from stove. Husband came home. We had drink and I cooked. He read paper.	
7-8 p.m. Served dinner. Gave son a bath. Cleaned up dishes. Watched a little TV.	No thoughts. 8-9p.m. Thankful day was over.
9-10 p.m. Watched TV. Went to bed.	

This day in the life of a woman is almost a capsule version of middle class America. It is all there: the delight in material possessions (shall we have parquet floors in our new addition to the house?), the status seeking, the desire to render social service, helping one's neighbors, the husband's teasing reference to sex in the morning. The woman's day is full of activities. She is dressmaker, cook, cleaning woman, baby sitter, parent, wife. She shows tact with her luncheon guests and knows when not to butt in. She braids her daughter's hair and listens to her piano practice. The day's record would be very instructive to a husband, if there are any such left, who still asks "What did you do all day, dear?" It is an incredibly busy day and can well stand comparison with the mythical pioneer woman and her rugged activities. The day is not without pleasure. But it is worth pondering that the last entry is "thankful day was over."

A Martyr

The following is a day in the life of a woman in her early forties who is married to a lawyer.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
6-7 a.m. Sleep	Marvelous
7-8 a.m. Awake-- lie in bed-- stare at ceiling. The maid, I am lucky I know she will get breakfast. I am almost incapable of functioning in the morning-- except for me. She also will pack children's lunches for school. I am not lazy. I am bored to death. I am dying-- my husband says we are all dying.	Pensive on awakening. One of the best times of the day. No duties. Time to think. No PTA, no clubs, no groups of women or men or children. I hate group activity now. It's all so clubby in this area. Very upper middle class, a real bore except for one woman I know-- a doctor's wife. No listening to my husband talk about himself.
8-9 a.m. Get up. Go downstairs for coffee and toast. Upstairs again. Scream at children to get dressed. Have to keep them going. They fight, bicker. Rush to get dressed-- don't have time-- took dog out. Put coat over pajamas, take kids to school. Take pamphlets with me to woman for her scout group. Don't stay for PTA meeting. Go to another meeting of investment group. Rush.	Hate myself for not saying No to everything asked of me. I want to ride horseback, ski, have some fun. No vacation alone with husband ever for more than 3 days. No honeymoon (one day). Work, work, work. When my husband talks, it's always business or himself. I am a servant, a public servant and I don't like me. Love my children, want the best for them, not materially as much as mentally. I don't push too much though. I know the dangers. Go to meeting of investment group. They asked me to be co-chairman. At meeting two officious masculine twangy women presided. Am very sleepy. Wish I had some coffee. Guilt I am not interested in working on anything now. Want to do for me. Meeting went smoothly, had a few laughts. One woman only had a sense of humor. This is important to me in myself and friends. I enjoy my own company immensely. Cannot stand women's clubs, if the world had to depend on this woman to run we'd be in a bad way.
9-10 a.m. Meeting-- I believe in protecting my investments but I'd rather not be around club women in process. I've decided to get out of everything and do something I want to do. (This is going through my mind.) What asses!	
10-11 a.m. Meeting. End of meeting. Two women talked entire time and my neighbor and I still don't know our duties. Women have a hard time thinking with simplicity.	No wonder more women aren't at the top of their fields. They can't follow and they can't lead. God! They remind me of sticky icing, sweet, soggy, and running in all directions. Me included. I learned all I know about what I admire from reading, styles in literature, etc., not from college.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
11 a.m. - 12 noon Came home from meeting. Pacing around bedroom. The maid has my baby. Thank God. I feel I want to get out of this committee. Guilty. Call several people. They are out. Look in mirror. Am very haggard. Hair long. Want to cut hair. Husband disapproves. Likes long hair. I want to cut it. Confused.	Am extremely depressed. Almost always am. My hair is bothering me. Long, unkempt, feel like a witch, look like one too, want to cut hair, husband doesn't want me to. He's very dictatorial with me. Am afraid to offend him, want to keep my family together. I don't want to rear my children alone. I know I am not young anymore and I don't want to be alone. I am a coward. I don't like me. But I want to cut my hair. I've been thinking about it for a year. I will.
12 noon - 1 p.m. Called for beauty shop appointment. Made one for 1:00. Called back ten minutes later, cancelled. Called another shop where I regularly go. Girl not in who does my hair. Call back first shop get original 1:00 appointment. Scared. Going to cut my hair. Get in car, drive to shop.	Have made decision! Called husband told him not to be shocked. He tries to persuade me not to do so. He says it's a symbolic rejection of him. He is correct. I don't say so though. He is like a father or someone I can't communicate with.
1-2 p.m. Enter shop. Hairdresser there. I greet him. (Hate beauty shops.) He gets up leisurely. I put towel around shoulders. He cuts. Then washes my hair. Then begins haircut. I feel nothing but elation. Also feelings that I might not look too good-- not sexy short, my husband says. Hairdresser cuts, I sit and banter with him. I don't enjoy his company. I'm frightened in beauty shops. There are fags and malcontents. Very few persons are happy anywhere in America. Beauty shops are a way of life to keep the fag happy. My hairdresser is not a fag. He combs me out. Love results, head is light, literally.	I am pathetic. I know this. Can't stand this image of me. Am scared to death of beauty shops. Everyone seems so sure of themselves. I'm not sure of anything. I don't even know who I am. I may be something (something to me is someone who contributes in some way creatively) or nothing. I fear desperately that I am nothing. I want so much to be respected and no one does respect me, I know this. I am too funny and laugh too much. I talk too much. Fools who are silent get more respect. Also I want to be liked. A grave error. It's never respected to go begging. I feel like I always have my nose pressed against a big window looking in. I'm never in where everything is happening. I am definitely alone. My husband could help me.
3-4 p.m. Drive home. Scout meeting in session at my home. Arrive at 4:30	Have to drive home. A moment alone. Turn on classical music. Turn it

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
at home. Feel very chic, not too sexy, but chic. I'm always looking for what I am or might have been. Scouts in back yard. Go out. Raves on hair.	off. Only advertisements. Just muse and think of how lovely it is not to hear phone ringing, husband's nagging, children's insolence, maid's meaching. Am home. Back to the factory. Eye twitches. Oh God! Scouts. I'm late. Thank God!
4-5 p.m. My maid tells me my husband has called twice. I water some plants Talk to baby. Talk to son about scout oath (hate scouts) and school. Talk to daughter and love her and kiss her. Son takes off on bike after scout meeting. Daughter has another guest in to see her. Our dog and another in the house. Love dogs.	Talk to ladies about son. Has to learn scout pledge. Fuck the pledge-- duty to God and country. Get out of Vietnam and pray in the fields. Back to nature. We are going down the drain and don't even know it. (Some do and some don't know.) Feel as if fleas were all over me. They are not fleas. People.
5-6 p.m. Try to get children rounded up for rest. They have meetings. The maid starts dinner. I help. We eat well always. Tonight: chicken mashed potatoes, gravy, vegetables salad, milk, dessert. I eat a snack with children. Then alone later.	I stand in kitchen eating and cooking. I've lost weight. I want to die! Death and I are old friends. I'm not suicidal, but I'm not afraid of death. I am afraid of pain. I've had interesting arguments over pain vs. oblivion. Grotesque, but pertinent.
6-7 p.m. Husband calls always around this time to see if it's all right to come home. I told him we were waiting for him for dinner. We never have meals together. I eat alone. He eats alone. The children eat alone. He comes home. Gets paper. I go upstairs. I get undressed. See to children.	Whenever he calls I think of his answer to everything: It's your fault, I don't like your hair today, you do this wrong and that wrong! Love, love, adore my children. Sometimes when I'm tired I hate them for their intrusion on my peace, but by and large they are rich and fine and I am blessed, if there is a God. I don't know. Too much horror in the world to fully believe. I want so much to believe in something or someone or a spirit, something that cares if we all live or die and how.
7-8 p.m. I round up children for meetings. We are going to be late. I rush. Dress up. Scream at boy. He dawdles. He puts on scout uniform. I'm so proud he looks great I help him. I get daughter ready for her meeting. Daughter goes with Daddy, son with me for initiation into cub scouts.	

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
8-9 p.m. I watch son like a hawk. Drink in his face. I adore him. He knows this. He is taken into cub scouts in a nice little ceremony. The parents pin bobcat pins on their boys. I feel a twinge of pride when I pin my son's pin on him. He's proud too. I sit down. Flirt with friend of husband's who comes in with son. It is harmless.	I don't think I can live through many more years of young children's activities that are *organized*. It is so boring. I don't rebel because my kids want to belong and who am I to louse it up. I've had my day so I say let them have theirs. My life is over. I am a recluse, they are not.
9-10 p.m. Meeting goes on. We (my husband drops daughter off so he can see son) see a few bad skits by the kids. My husband leaves. The meeting adjourns. I round up both children with difficulty. They are running and playing with others. I drink hot coffee and doughnuts. I enjoy the coffee.	I know my hair looks good. I feel splendid. Very good. Am dressed well. My husband begrudges me things. He's a good man in many ways, but he is very inconsiderate.
10-11 p.m. Daughter interrupts, has to go to bathroom. Son missing. I look for him for five minutes. Find him playing with friends. Put both children in car. Go home. Demand that they go right to bed. They dawdle. Always. I get very mad. They are *very* tired. They go to sleep. I'm free for a minute! God!	I wonder if I'm attractive. I wonder if my husband were gone if anyone would date me, would want to make love to me. I wonder this all the time. I am old. I feel old. I would love to prove myself in any way at all. I would love to be somebody. How marvelous to have been accepted by many people for something one had or has done. I would like to do, to be. I did once, then never again. I laugh! I'm a has been. In America wrinkles are bad news.
11 p.m. - midnight I read. Cannot concentrate. My husband is working downstairs. My hair is great. I put on black nightgown. He comes in. He looks. He gets in bed.	I am orally erotic. Love to kiss. I don't enjoy sex until aroused. Then I enjoy it immensely. I have a thorough orgasm and can sleep for hours. A marvelous feeling. My husband: sometimes any old port in a storm. He didn't object too violently to my hair. I think most people dislike marriage. It gives children a legal name and lots of greedy bitches want money, like me. We are not a pleasant part of the system.
midnight - 1 a.m. We go to bed together. First time in a while. I like to be wooed more. Ah! Romance!	

This is the classical story from time immemorial, from Medea to Martha of Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? The wronged and wronging woman! Marriage is an institution which gives people knowledge of each other of a detail and intensity that can be put to hurtful use. The principle of privileged communication protects man and wife from the inquiries of the law, but not from each other. In the above account a woman is locked in an ambivalent battle. The attentive listener can hear underneath the rage the cry for love. Cutting her hair, for instance, is at once an act of defiance and a search for admiration and love. The diary describes a more unusual situation. But it also is an open statement; it accentuates what the more conventional gloss over. The millions of marriages are not broken for light reason. There is enormous suffering under the by now banal divorce court phrase "mental cruelty." Over one third of our women respondents wished instruction to gain more understanding of themselves and other people. But our colleges thus far have evinced little interest in making students' psychological development a major goal. There are even less institutional supports for people's emotional education in the post-college years.

A Producer

The following is the astounding report of one day in the life of a "producer," a woman in her early forties.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
6-7 a.m. Up at 6:45 to wake youngest for his shower. Back to bed for a few winks.	Must get to bed earlier tonight! But my days seem to last too late into the night.
7-8 a.m. Up to stay at 7. Prepare breakfast, eat, pack bag lunch. Prepare roast for dinner and leave instructions for cooking it. Gather items needed for a shopping errand at noon.	Really too early to think-- activities are by now routine. Brief conversations with younger children and a feeling of satisfaction that they are leaving for school in a happy mood.
8-9 a.m. Dress. Drive to work. Arrive at work at 8:37, take a waiting phone call, and begin morning's work. (Editorial duties, plus some promotion and administration, management for several book publishing companies.)	As I put on make-up I note I look much tireder than a year ago. Or is it just older? As I drive to work, I reflect a bit, get a spiritual orientation for the day. Wonder whether it will be possible to remain a warm, loving person through the business and family pressures of the day.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
9-11 a.m. Review fall book publishing schedule, update, and reschedule as needed. Compute costs on various binding methods for a new title. Check incoming correspondence and book orders. Follow-up on overdue delivery from printer. Assorted phone calls to or from an author, another author's secretary, three printers, a freelance editor, and others. Talked a few minutes with my secretary whose husband had just called from induction center where club-swinging police had broken up the anti-draft demonstrations.	9-10 a.m. Late as always, glad I have a boss who understands and makes allowances (a precondition of my undertaking this full-day job). Felt some guilt-- no, regret-- at schedule delays. Wish I had more time to do a better job on this part of the business. Some satisfaction, though, since editorial chores are enjoyable.
	10-11 a.m. Too much work and too many interruptions for any real reflection beyond the demands of the job at hand. Felt deep anger and revulsion as I heard of brutal police action at induction center. Worry where this growing agitation on one side, and rigidity on the other, will lead us.
11 a.m. - 12 noon Explain to new secretary how to check cold-type proofs for corrections. A series of frustrating conversations with clerk at library. Finally ask to have department head call us back.	Felt some irritation with library clerk who seemed totally incapable of human communication, receiving or sending. Or maybe I was just hungry.
12 noon - 1 p.m. Lunch time. But I must wait for library to return call. Start to check editing done by freelancer on a history article. Finally gave up on call at 12:45 and went to lunch.	
1-2 p.m. Parked car on a shady street and ate my lunch. Read article. Then downtown to buy buttons for a dress of my daughter's I'm rejuvenating to wear to work. Back to work at 1:50-- five minutes late.	I relax! Noon is my moment-- quiet and solitude to read or think-- I'm very jealous of it. Article provocative, make mental note to pass journal along to a friend. Resent having to put it down to run errand. Have to hurry the shopping, but driving back to work I seize a few minutes to enjoy the trees, the breeze, and the car radio.
2-5 p.m. Freelance editor is waiting to see me when I return; we discuss her assignment for a half hour or so. Assemble material for board of directors meeting tomorrow. Review	Enjoyed talking with this freelancer. Sharp, competent, articulate. I sense that she could probably handle my own job with little trouble. Thank God, or luck He has put me here first! Enjoyed

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
results of past promotional mailings for one of companies; select lists for mailing new catalog and write a three page memo on them. Editor of our art journal stops in to discuss manuscripts for the next two issues. He seems satisfied. When he leaves, publisher calls me in to say that earlier problems with this editor re copyediting (my responsibility) are now resolved and they agree my name should be added to the masthead: "Find yourself a title." I phone home to make sure the roast has been started. Find daughter not home so instruct one of the boys. A few minutes later my daughter calls from the library to get cooking instructions before I leave the office. In remaining time I start checking copyeditor's work on an article on the prohibition era.	conversation with journal editor too; unusual fellow, imaginative, a fine writer, wide range of interests. I note how unreliable my first impression of him was. The problem over copyediting has been much of a concern to me recently, so I feel great relief at his approval of the work being done by my "stable" of free-lance editors. Further relieved that he had expressed his satisfaction to the publisher. And I have a momentary flashback to another much-admired editor, now dead, who said to me five years ago the very same words, "Find yourself a title." Pleased that my daughter cared enough to call about dinner (on her dime!) Sat back and enjoyed the article, which was written to be read, not edited, anyway.
5-6 p.m. Left the office about 5:15. Traffic heavy, but home in about fifteen minutes. Checked roast and put vegetables on to cook. Poured a glass of wine and sat down in living room to read the headlines. A few minutes family discussion about the events at the induction center. Put aside the paper when my husband started to discuss a serious career problem he is facing.	Ah, dinner is cooking. No mad dash to the grocery tonight, or starting from scratch when I get home. On reading the front page, the morning's sense of irritation with the police and with the whole law enforcement-military mentality returned. I felt some satisfaction that my husband and children expressed displeasure with the business at the induction center, too.
6-7 p.m. Younger son comes in from play, near tears. The boys didn't call to remind him of scout patrol meeting. He feels unwanted-- thinks he won't go to troop meeting tonight. We discuss it, and I suggest he call one boy who is especially friendly and make plans to go together. He does.	The anxious thoughts about my husband's career problem, which I had succeeded in suppressing when they floated into my mind during the day, now welled up. But I tried to hide them, be matter of fact, and reassure him. Reassurance is about all a wife can offer, being so removed from the situation. Removed yet so involved! At least my income puts him in a more flexible position.
7-8 p.m. I hurry dinner so he can leave at 7. Start dinner about 6:40. A relatively relaxed meal with more talk about the	Soak in the joy of having these children around the table. They won't be here many more years. I mention that I will be on the

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?	YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS?
events at the induction center, and about miscellaneous affairs of our respective days. My unsinkable daughter gives us a lively account of school politics. After dinner, older boy goes to study, daughter to city recreation committee meeting, younger boy to scouts.	journal masthead, weighing my words because I think even small successes of a wife can be threatening to her husband.
8-9 p.m. Clear the dishes and load the dishwasher (which two younger children do on non-meeting nights). To the grocery for assorted midweek marketing. Home to prepare stuffed peppers for tomorrow night. (Must eat early; it's back-to-school for parents at the junior high school.)	Housewifely thoughts of planning marketing, tomorrow night's menu, and the rest of this evening, which still has many things to be done.
9-10 p.m. Shower and shampoo. I have just settled comfortably on sofa to read the still unread paper and to set my hair when oldest son returns. He has a first draft essay he would like help with.	Enjoy the sensuous rewards of warm water and scented soap. Tight office clothes off, the sofa is comfortable and I settle in with the newspaper. Would probably feel irritated at having to leave it to tutor, but I'm too pleased that this son has accepted my offer to help him with writing, seemed a shame for him not to take advantage of whatever skill I could pass on.
10-11 p.m. A good session with son and the results of our first session a couple weeks ago are already showing--he can anticipate my criticism. I set hair as we talk. Finish both about 10:40. Short conversations with other family members have intervened, of course. Husband watching television, comes to bedroom about the time we finish. I have a cookie and half a glass of milk (my only remaining concession to an old ulcer). In bed my husband still has many things he wants to discuss. To sleep, about 11:20.	Beginning to feel tired, but pleased with the way the tutoring is going. And enjoy this interchange, a chance for some private time, which I like to have with each of the children. And with my husband. People are best savored one at a time! But how did it get so late! Another night late to bed. Tomorrow night I must get to bed earlier! So tired. I must get to sleep, yet my busy evening has left me little time to be a wife. We talk. In time I hope that my dwindling contribution to the conversation will say what I haven't the heart to.
2-3 a.m. Two younger children get up to see lunar eclipse. I'd love to have joined them, but unwilling to pay the price in lost sleep. Not fair to my employer, or to them, or to myself.	

This is a rich day and a rich woman. At home she is cook, dressmaker, tutor, psychologist, confidante, a loving wife and mother. At work she is editor, administrator, production supervisor, a respected and well-rewarded colleague. In the midst of all this she has emotional time for concern about political events. She keeps on training herself. She will stop for reflection when the events of the day threaten to crowd in on her. She will examine herself to see where her impressions of people have gone wrong. She finds there is room for pleasure: eating her lunch on a shady street, time in the middle of the day for leisurely reading, savoring in her bath at night the sensuous rewards of warm water and scented soap. Above all there is the enjoyment of her family, the talking in bed with her husband, the children around the dinner table.

There are signs of strain: the tired face in the mirror, the sense of pressure on the way to work. Perhaps this is the reason why this superb manager of her time and energies writes in the diary of another day that she may "lack efficiency." But any woman who after a day such as hers is tempted to get up at 2 a.m. to watch a lunar eclipse with her two younger children, has almost boundless love and joy of living. When she decides not to get up, she does so because the price in lost sleep would not be fair to her employer, her children, or herself, that is, out of a sense of responsibility to her work, love for her children, and love and respect for herself. Those who truly love others also love themselves. If one were to construct a contemporary psalm on the virtuous woman our "producer" would make a fair model.

A Leisure-Seeker

The following quotations are from an interviewer's report of a woman who just turned 50. The interviewer asked her to describe what she did on the day before the interview.

> "I got up at 8 o'clock. The dog woke me because he sleeps with me. I fixed breakfast and I ate breakfast, read the newspaper. I dusted the living room. I wrote bills. I didn't write to my daughter. I write every other day to her. And then I took a neighbor's guest to go bowling-- because I thought it would be nice to take him. We bowled for a long time. I came home and I read the newspapers. I'm an avid newspaper reader. I read three newspapers a day from cover to cover. My husband comes home at 6 o'clock. We usually have two drinks. I don't eat any lunch. This is one way of keeping the weight down. And I fix a very light dinner because we are both watching our weights. So, I fixed two Cornish hens and we ate dinner and watched television. We don't watch television that much. We don't have favorite programs. The only thing we watch is sports. If there are sports, we make a point. I went to bed at 10:30. I require an awful lot of sleep."

At this point the interviewer inquired about the woman's son and found he was not living at home; he lives in a town in the Rockies because he likes to climb mountains all day. The interviewer noticed that the woman had not mentioned eating breakfast with her husband and inquired about what time he gets up and leaves. He was told that her husband gets up at 6 o'clock, fixes his own breakfast, that he is very self-sufficient. "Actually, 8 o'clock is very early for me. I usually get up at 9 or 9:30. And I'm pretty grouchy in the morning so it's very nice as it is."

What was the most satisfying part of her day? "I got many good strikes. For a while I played very well." The least satisfying part of her day was her bowling partner, who was like a child. "If he doesn't do well he gets very irritable and complains, he is not a good sport. And that spoiled the day."

When the interviewer asked what her life would be like ten and twenty years from now, the woman did not mention her children. She only talked about the relationship between herself and her husband. There seems to be rapport between the two. And there is comfort.

> "Ten years from now, we'll be living here because of the house. We've fixed it up just right for us with a minimal amount of work. My husband would have retired by then, so we will have much more time to spend together, travel maybe, stay at home together, do more sports together. Twenty years from now very much the same, but with less physical activity, perhaps we'll go fishing."

The woman's parents never had paid any attention, she said. They were always taking off and going places and doing things and she was a very lonely child. This is why she became attached to her teacher. She had a younger brother but he was also in boarding school somewhere, so she never saw her brother either. She thinks maybe because she was left alone she had to learn to deal with different people, and develop skills along those lines.

Those who moralize about idleness will find no easy confirmation in this woman's accounts. There are no obvious signs of discomfort and no sense of guilt. Yet her life appears restricted. Her concerns are with her weight, her sleep, her house. Sports seems her major interest. She is grouchy if her bodily comforts are interfered with and the greatest dissatisfaction of her day is her bowling partner's irritability.

One wonders whether this woman's apparent neglect by her parents was a factor leading to early restriction of desires so that she never expected too much from life and turned to her own body as one source of gratification and an object of solicitude. The pattern seems to be repeated in the next generation. She does not mention her children as she describes what she anticipates in the next twenty years. Her son is away climbing mountains-- he too perhaps turning to his body the way his parents had.

A Self-Loving Woman

The following are verbatim transcriptions from an interview with a woman in her forties.

> "Wednesday is the day that I teach my painting class. I'm at the studio at quarter of nine. I open my eyes at various times, depending whether my husband is in or out of town. I have a very large French poodle who likes to open his eyes at the same time and has to be walked, so sometimes I will be up at 6. There is nothing that I do, unfortunately, that is consistent, that stays on schedule. Some mornings I open my eyes at 9, in response to my own moods. I never can stay down, I always come up. I am very level in the morning. So if I have to do something like being at the studio at 9, I will usually start getting about at 6 or 7 in order to be sharp, because I have a very low metabolism. Most of my life I never go to bed before 12 and I like to stay up til 1 or 2 in the morning, so as the day progresses, my energies are higher. I put the dishes in the dishwasher and make the bed and take a bath. I'm big on baths. My breakfast is brought to me: my daughter makes my coffee or my husband makes my coffee, because everybody knows I'm simply lost before I get going.
>
> "We've gotten dressed and I go flying and I open up the studio and I get mentally set for the session involved. What's always most important to me besides teaching somebody how to think is to try to plant my ideas on other people, so I do this a great deal in my studio. Then if I don't have an engagement or an appointment or something I particularly have to do, I might stay at the studio til 2:30 or 4. I might set up an easel and start painting when everybody is gone and get lost in it or I might leave and go and play tennis or do whatever I have to do or go back and dump the flowers and cut fresh ones, sit in the sun and read a book, or write a poem, or whatever I feel like. If there were anything to stress about me personally, it would be that I most of all like each hour of each day to have a surprise. I hate to know what I'm doing Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. I want a program of freedom. Now this is impossible to achieve all of the time because of my personal responsibilities. Somebody will phone me on Monday and ask whether I can play tennis Tuesday. I say call me Tuesday morning because I might not want to play tennis. Tennis is very important to me because standing at easels is very static. I play tennis usually four times a week. After I leave the studio I get in the car and go back and take the dog out again. We walk a little together. I go out marketing when the girls are involved in the last phases of whatever they're doing with their paintings. Then we have lunch, we talk, and we have a little wine....

"Wednesday I had to go out to the school to meet with the seniors about graduation night. I made a little speech about how I wanted the evening to go and about what their responsibility was to me. I congratulated them on getting out of school. I had one thing particularly that I wanted to stress, that I wanted it to be a very happy occasion and if anybody smoked pot would they please do it the next night, and if anybody drank would they please do their drinking the next night. Would everybody please be on time for this occasion. I said that I had gone to a great deal of personal expense and time away from my own affairs and that I hoped they would grant me this one favor and everybody would do their share. If the girls were in love or they were not pleased with their particular date, would they just realize how young they were and how lucky to have this evening that they could put away in their memory suitcase.

"I then went to the business office and went over the lists of checks that had been sent in and what phone calls I had to make. Then I went home and contacted the woman who was making the breakfast plans, and went over the chaperones, and contacted all of the chaperones involved and I saw the headmistress of the school. I think that took up most of my afternoon on Wednesday which is something that doesn't go on all the time. I go at full speed all day. I think my daughter probably asked me to play tennis with her at 4:30 and then I took the dog out again and wrestled with a few things around the house, went to the market to get something for dinner, and my husband was away on a trip and he said that he would not be home for dinner. But I thought he could surprise me, so I marketed for three instead of two on a hunch. And at 4:30 I played tennis for two hours with my daughter and my husband came in on the plane and was home for dinner. My daughter went out for dinner.

"My husband and I sat and talked. I did the dishes. I talked to him about the party plans and expenses for graduation night. I can not add very well and was handling a fair amount of money. So I wanted him to check on all that, which he did for me. I wanted to make sure I had enough money in the treasury so that if there were any unforeseen expenses that we would not have to ask for anybody to subsidize the evening in any way. We went over the plans for the week, when he would be in and out of town, and what was new with each other, how was the trip, how was the weather.

"The most satisfying part of the day was being in the studio with a group of women and working. It gives me a good feeling if somebody who does not have facility for drawing or painting learns to see. This is the most important thing, the exposure of the lay person to anyone in this world. If

> somebody is looking at a canvas and they are just painting some bottles, I hate bottles, I do not want to paint them. I ask them to forget their personal prejudices and try to enable them to see with their eyes the beautiful symphony of colors that they haven't been aware of, so that when they are out in the world they respond to their surroundings with greater enjoyment. This hits me in a very personal way. If I can communicate this kind of thing, this is my greatest happiness because I thoroughly enjoy life.
>
> "The least satisfying is the things that I have to do: dump the clothes in the washing machine, clean the bathroom. It is terribly important to me that when somebody walks into my home that they have the same visual experience that I was just speaking of when they relate to my surroundings with their eyes. I want to give them a feeling of pleasure and I want things to happen to them when they see. So I can not be slovenly, I can not let things go. I always want to create an atmosphere that is pleasing to myself, pleasing to anybody else, and therefore, the spread has to be on just right. The bowls have to have a French floral arrangement in them. I like the feeling of antiques, patina, I want the furniture to shine back at me. This is my way. So what is not satisfying is the dirty work that you have to do in order to achieve this, which I do constantly.
>
> "My children make my life particularly pleasing by bringing other youngsters over to the house. My husband and I share and enjoy these young people. They come and go freely in our house. We like to exchange ideas with them. We like to kid with them. I envy their time in life, their free laughter. I find it very charming. They are wonderful."

This woman seems beautifully to combine a rich impulse life with organization and control, luxurious self-love with responsiveness and care for others. After over twenty years of marriage, her husband still surprises her by coming home early and they share pleasures and aid each other in their work. She is an independent woman and so secure in her independence that she can with ease and gratitude depend on her husband in the things he does for her.

Her life centers on visual beauty, but it is not a lonely pleasure. Her art becomes fulfilled if she can make others see and her own home for herself and her friends becomes a source of aesthetic joy. When she cleans her house the satisfaction is in the artistic purpose. Compare this with so many American homes where cleaning has become a purpose of its own, if not an obsession. This woman works more than many other women and yet reading her one thinks more of sensuous gratification and joy. Her life is a wedding of feeling, impulse, and workmanship. This artistic woman has brought her own life close to a work of art.

Summary and Recommendations

Our data show that adult women are divided on how important an occupation is to them. Over half say that having a career in addition to being a wife and mother is important to them. A fifth are neutral. The rest think it unimportant. While our respondents indicate that financial considerations play a role in their seeking paid employment outside the home, they stress the chance to develop as a person, to gain independence, to be with other people, to be of service. Many women desire training and education for resuming a career or starting a new one. But our study also uncovered the existence of a very substantial number of women who desire further education not for the sake of a career, but for the sake of their own further development.

We have found that for nearly all women the domestic sphere has great psychological importance. Our women express a high sense of confidence in their domestic abilities and most of them report their relations with their husbands as satisfactory. About half of our women seriously desired to continue their education in their post-college years, but most often say they did not act on their desire because of the need to take care of their children. Our data, even in the questionnaires, draw a double picture: relative contentment and many unfulfilled needs, punctuated by the complaint that there is not enough time. Part of this double picture is due to the fact that we are confronting different groups of women. But part of it is due to the inherent ambivalence in women's situation itself. The social and educational planner must be aware that many women feel that their educational and occupational needs have not been met. Unless they are met, a substantial segment of the female half of society is going to experience frustrations and harbor resentments for which personal depression and hostile agressions to others--husbands, children, friends, society--are natural outlets.

What recommendations can one make in the light of our data? We need to recognize that middle class women are divided into many different groups for whom appropriately specific educational and occupational facilities need to be established. We must beware of overgeneralizations which chastise women by holding up a single pattern as the model; e.g., that "neglecting" children because of having a job is unhealthy or that not wanting to work outside the home is unhealthy. Our data, for instance, point to the need of expanding educational facilities for those women who want to pursue their self-development but not a career. Such education to be meaningful needs to go beyond the conglomeration of a few courses modeled on the undergraduate classroom and its often arid didactic ways. We need new constellations of subject matter and new teaching procedures if we want to develop the adult student's emotional and intellectual potential. Many women need appropriate instruction for their many psychological tasks in the maternal and wifely roles to help them achieve a better understanding of self and others. This might for instance be done by involving them as teacher's aids in the schools and make their experience a vehicle of their own instruction in subject matter and child psychology. Even marriages that stay together are often psychological problem areas and some are psychological disaster areas. A mature society cannot neglect to provide the educational arrangements which will help with problems that many, perhaps most, human beings cannot cope with untutored.

It is also clear that many women have issued a loud and clear call for a career. We will need to give them free access to occupations beyond those traditionally reserved for them. At the same time we should desegregate those occupations which are traditionally female by recruiting many more men for elementary teaching, social work, and nursing; advances in technology may also soon help us to re-define the job of secretary. We need to establish the educational channels for women's preparation for careers: changed procedures for admission to graduate and professional schools, permissibility to interrupt graduate education, or to attend part time. In the jobs themselves we need to allow for women's domestic tasks by so organizing work schedules that women can take leaves. Such arrangements as two women holding together one full-time job have already shown themselves successful and point the way to imaginative reorganizations of work patterns. If our society also could induce its men to devote more time to the home and thus reduce their load of paid work, it would speed up the evolution of work arrangements which will allow men and women more time together in the work and pleasures of family life.

Our investigation has not uncovered in the middle class women we have studied revolutionary attitudes to their fate. But it has shown a great need for more education, more help with careers, more facilitation of psychological growth. Our women's desire is more subtle than the outright call for revolution, but possibly more deep. The success of a society depends on discerning the often hidden factors that make for discontent and undermine that sense of well-being without which life becomes a drag and drudgery and people become locked in mutual suspicion. Above all, a society that denies to half of its members the tools for developing what many of them think vital for their selfhood will have a battle of the sexes. It will have children haunted by a combination of overprotection and harrassment. It will encourage a permanent revolt of its "slaves" in their day-to-day living and psychological confusion in which it is difficult to discern who is master and who is slave, who is victimizer and who is victimized.

Chapter III

CAREER-ORIENTED VS. HOME-ORIENTED WOMEN

Marjorie M. Lozoff

This chapter concerns the differences between career-oriented and home-oriented Stanford alumnae, between 26 and 50 years of age, who responded to our questionnaire. The questionnaire included an item asking "How important do you think it is for your own self-fulfillment to have a career in addition to being a wife and mother?" The question could be answered on a five point scale from "very important" to "very unimportant." We divided our women into five groups depending on which of the five points they checked. Of the 458 women who responded, half perceive a career to be important and the other half are either neutral or consider a career unimportant (Table 1). Women here defined as "career-oriented" are the 51% who say a career is very important or important to them; women defined as "home-oriented" say a career is unimportant or very unimportant to them (29%).

Table 1

A. Importance of Career for Self-Fulfillment

	VI=Very Important	I=Important	N=Neutral	U=Unimportant	VU=Very Unimportant
f	109	122	93	80	54
%	24	27	20	17	12

B. Percent According to Year of Graduation

1939-40	23	23	20	21	14
1945-46	21	26	21	24	8
1953-54	22	32	13	18	15
1961-62	29	26	27	9	10

"Career" was not defined in our questionnaire, but answers to open-ended questions analyzed by us indicate the following definitions in the minds of the respondents. Home-oriented women tend to describe a career in general terms as something outside the home, and their definition tends to be negative, i.e., a career is something they do not want. The career-oriented women are more specific about the type of work, listing in order of frequency: nurturant professions, high status occupations, artistic or creative work, highly technical occupations and serious volunteer work.[1] Although many home-oriented women refer to their way of life as satisfying and a privilege, almost none describe homemaking as a career.

Why do some women choose a career and others not? Are hardships and limitations of paid employment contributing to the relative unimportance many women place on careers or is homemaking so gratifying that little else is needed by them? Are the career-oriented happy with homemaking, but possessed of energy and capacity for additional work, or is there some deficiency in homemaking as it now exists that fails to meet their needs? As we explore the responses of the career-oriented and home-oriented women, we may obtain some information about these questions.

Employment

Women who consider a career important also tend to be employed currently; those who consider it unimportant tend not to be employed. Sixty-two percent of those who consider a career as very important are employed currently; only 9% of those who consider it very unimportant are employed (Table 2).

Table 2

Percentage of Women Currently Employed

VI	I	N	U	VU
66	52	32	15	9

$p < .001$

As our sample included women at different stages in their life cycles, we examined responses according to year of graduation. This revealed a consistently low employment rate for the home-oriented women, a consistently high employment rate for the career-oriented, and a tendency for those who are neutral about careers to work before bearing children and then again when the children leave home (Current employment of women defining themselves as neutral about careers: 1939-40, 34%; 1945-46, 14%; 1953-54, 14%; 1961-62, 38%).

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[1] Nurturant professions include teaching (except at the college level), nursing, social work, personnel work; high status occupations include college teaching, medicine, law, business, administration. Highly technical work includes laboratory work, statistical, editorial skills, etc.

The close relation between career interest and paid employment is corroborated by the future plans of our respondents. Career-oriented women who are not employed currently indicate in much greater proportion than the home-oriented the intent to work in the near or more distant future (Table 3).

Table 3

Unemployed Women Who Plan to Work in the Future
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	P
Plan to work in near future	39	24	9	8	4	<.001
Plan to work in distant future	32	62	22	23	14	<.001

Our questionnaire listed nine reasons for working outside the home and seven of these reasons are endorsed much more frequently by the career-oriented women: to develop themselves as persons, to work with other people, to have a sense of independence, to serve people other than their families, to afford a better life style, to spend time away from home, and to contribute to their children's educations. Providing income for oneself or family is a reason given by about sixty percent of women in all categories. This probably reflects the motivation of many women who worked prior to marriage (Table 4).

Table 4

Women's Reasons for Working
(Figures are percent.)

Important and Minor Reason	VI	I	N	U	VU	P
To develop self as a person.	88	88	81	60	53	<.001
To work with other people.	85	86	80	67	48	<.001
To have a sense of independence.	81	76	62	51	51	<.001
To serve people other than family. . . .	72	68	62	57	40	<.001
To afford a better life style.	66	51	55	47	32	<.001
To provide income for self or family. .	57	57	63	58	60	ns
To spend time away from home.	57	56	39	21	15	<.001
To occupy time.	51	61	51	53	49	ns
To contribute to children's educations	29	29	20	11	7	.01

We attempted to ascertain the reasons why the women who do not work are not inclined to seek paid employment. Their reasons indicate with full force the strength of the conviction of home-oriented women that a job is unattractive to them, and that the women's decisions are reinforced by what they perceive to be their husbands' negative attitudes. Sixty-two percent of the "VU"s and 19% of the "VI"s say that their husbands oppose their working (Table 5). As our sample varies in age from women who are actively caring for small children to those who are in the "empty nest" period, variations occur according to age. Most of the career-oriented women who are not employed say this is due to their wanting to give their families their full attention. Three quarters of the women in their late twenties and thirties say so in contrast to about one third in their fifties. But most home-oriented women and women neutral about careers are family-centered regardless of age.

Table 5

Women's Reasons for Not Desiring Work at Present Time
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	P
Not working	34	48	68	85	91	<.001
Reasons for not working						
Want to give family full attention	47	73	91	88	90	<.001
Husband against wife working	19	30	53	48	62	<.001
Job unattractive to respondent	9	12	21	41	59	<.001
Inability to find appropriate employment	21	8	17	5	4	.03

Among our respondents are women with academic competence permitting them wide latitude in career choice. As many women work in positions subordinate in nature, the issue of willingness to give or take orders assumes importance. This appears to be related to attitude about careers. Almost three times as many women who consider a career to be very unimportant work as secretaries, clerks or in non-professional jobs as do women considering careers to be very important (Table 6).

We asked the women in our sample about their experience with employer discrimination against women. About two-thirds of the career-oriented and over 80% of the home-oriented say that they have not experienced any sex-linked discrimination (Percentage of respondents saying they experienced employer discrimination: VI, 35%; I, 28%; N, 31%; U, 20%; VU, 11%). This is hardly surprising as the majority worked either as clerks, secretaries or teachers. Education, especially in non-administrative positions and in the lower grades, is considered as "women's work." The same is true for secretarial employment except for rare, highly paid secretarial positions such as legislative recording.

Table 6

Present or Most Recent Paid Employment
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU
Creative occupations	16	14	11	9	2
Management	6	8	10	8	6
Nursing	6	7	11	3	6
Office work	8	26	29	47	34
Professions	23	9	11	5	0
Service jobs	13	9	14	9	28
Teaching	28	27	15	20	23

Very few of the home-oriented have worked for any length of time and when they have paid employment it is usually in traditional or non-professional jobs. The career-oriented and the Neutrals complain two to three times more frequently than the home-oriented about differential salaries for men and women in comparable jobs, unwillingness on the part of employers to delegate administrative responsibilities to women, and differential sex policies regarding promotion, tenure and seniority. The women who consider a career as very important complain more than women in other sub-groups about prejudice encountered in hiring practices; this possibly is a reflection of the larger percentage of women in this category who are non-teaching professionals (Table 7).

Table 7

Women Reporting Employer Discrimination
(Figures are percent.)

Discrimination in:	VI	I	N	U	VU	P
Salaries.	23	21	21	14	6	.08
Delegation of administrative responsibilities .	24	16	23	12	8	.07
Promotion, Tenure, Seniority.	18	17	18	8	4	.07
Hiring practices.	19	10	8	5	4	<.01

Essay type responses at the end of our questionnaire and interviews with women in our sample added details to our information about discrimination. The following is a comment by an administrative assistant, in her 50's, reviewing her long years of employment, partially touching on academic discrimination:

> "Looking back, I realize that my major promotions occurred when the men who could have been my rivals were off fighting and dying on some battle field....When I tried to

> get into graduate school I could not make it because I was past 40 years of age. But the female, whether young or old always tends to go through this sort of thing. The argument runs--why spend money on her since she, young, will marry and whelp? Why spend money on her since she, old, should have a husband to take care of her?

A 30 year old mother with three children had wanted to train for a position of teaching languages in college. This goal implied an identification with her mother who was a college language teacher. The chairman of her academic department discouraged her from obtaining this training because "a married woman should not continue for a Ph.D." At the time of our study this woman was working full-time as a high school teacher.

The following comments are from two women in the field of business administration who encountered the four types of sex-discrimination mentioned in Table 7. A single woman, working full-time for more than twenty years as an executive secretary and administrative assistant, expresses the following belief:

> "A man of less intelligence and training will be put in an office managerial position by most nationally known companies rather than a woman."

A woman with the MBA degree in Business Administration elucidates some of the obstacles encountered by women in business:

> "Discrimination has been mostly subtle, not necessarily written policy, ranging from meetings planned in men-only clubs to delegating heavy responsibility without appropriate status and authority. Actually some of my best opportunities came because I accepted low salaries, so it's not all bad.
>
> I would like to add that in general I have overcome these obstacles but it is always something that had to be overcome. I find many women do not really want to take responsibilities and problems that go with responsibilities. There was, incidentally, opposition to hiring me for my present job by the men at other campuses. They thought it would hurt 'their image' to have a woman planner."

Women in the creative professions also report experiencing discrimination because of their sex. A 1961 graduate employed as a production assistant for a television station comments:

> "Hindering enjoyment of life since graduation has been the discrimination against women in the TV world. This has been a shock and constant frustration."

An artist in her fifties describes the situation as follows:

> "The creative arts are highly competitive. The men artists downgrade their women colleagues. I, like many successful women artists, sign my work with my initial rather than my first name. We become used to hearing people say: I know your work, it is so good I thought it _must_ have been done by a man."

Professional women also complain of discriminatory experiences. The following description comes from an interview with a dignified and competent physician:

> "I was a resident at the end of World War II. When I first went to work I was the only resident--only person in training--all the men were fighting. The second year we had two or three men come back. The next year others returned and we gradually added to the staff. I had been on duty about twenty months and asked for a month off--I had had it up to here, but I didn't complain; the work had to be done. We all did as much as we could. When I returned, the hospital administrator alerted me that I might have a little friction among the house staff. I had been there longest and was supposed to be the senior resident and delegate responsibility. One of the more loquacious men told me: 'We decided that we don't want a woman telling us what to do; we have decided that we will do things by committee, by vote.' I didn't like it, handed in my resignation and went into another specialty."

Women interested in careers tend more than home-oriented women to be better-educated, to seek out paid employment, to work at professional, artistic or teaching positions and to find in work a source of gratification for a variety of social, financial and developmental needs. They also encounter discrimination more frequently than do women less interested in careers.

Education

Career-oriented women work more often than home-oriented women for degrees beyond the bachelor's. A study of Stanford undergraduates of the class of '65 indicated that women students who primarily were interested in assuming traditional sex-roles often wanted a bachelor's degree from a prestigious university almost as part of their dowry. They valued the opportunity to develop learning skills and benefit from a good liberal arts education. But they frequently made reference to their undergraduate education as enabling them better to fulfill their functions as wives of successful, well-educated men.[2] The "VU"s in our sample had the largest percentage who did not continue beyond the bachelor's degree.

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[2] Leland, Carole A. and Lozoff, Marjorie M. _College Influences on the Role Development of Female Undergraduates_, p. 83. ERIC ED 026 975.

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Table 8

Years of College Completed and Degrees Obtained
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU
Less than bachelor	8	17	18	17	15
Bachelor	56	62	66	69	76
M.A., Ph.D., M.D.	35	22	16	14	9

$p < .01$

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More than seventy percent of our women had received additional training since graduation (VI, 81%; I, 76%; N, 68%; U, 65%; VU, 47% $p < .0001$). Forty-four percent of the women in our sample indicate that they seriously desired to continue their education at some time following their undergraduate years but did not do so primarily because of the need to care for children, husbands, or because of lack of money. The least important reason, regardless of career interest, is concern about the disapproval of parents or friends. About 5% are concerned with their parents' or friends' attitudes. Seven percent are tired of school.

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Table 9

Important Reasons for Not Continuing Education
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	p (from complete table)
Needing to care for children	65	68	68	76	59	ns
Needing to devote self to husband	33	45	37	19	53	.04
Not enough money	53	27	38	37	20	.04
Doubted abilities	17	13	14	11	33	ns

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Women considering a career unimportant, but not very unimportant, indicate that care of children was more of a deterrent to continuing their education than their need to devote themselves to husbands (Table 9). The "U"s are the group having the largest percentage of women who have three or more children (Percentages of women having three or more children: VI, 40%; I, 46%; N, 44%; U, 57%; VU, 40%).

Women considering a career as very important cite more frequently insufficient finances as a reason for not continuing their education than do women in the other categories. Women defining a career as very unimportant indicate more frequently than the others that they doubt their abilities, but the difference is not statistically significant.

We inquired about current unmet educational needs and 42% of the entire sample desire courses for general education but not for a career (Table 10), with almost 60% of the home-oriented in their late twenties and mid-forties expressing this as an unmet need. About 34% of all women indicate courses for human understanding as an unmet need with almost half of the women close to 45 years of age and neutral about careers mentioning this as an unmet need. Nineteen percent of the women in our sample describe courses for a new career as a need currently unmet with the career-oriented more frequently designating this as an unmet need.

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Table 10

Current Unmet Educational Needs of Adult Women
(Figures are percent.)

	VI & I	N	VU & U	p
A. Unmet Needs				
Courses to further education, but not for a career	44	42	40	ns
Courses for greater knowledge of self or others	36	35	31	ns
Courses to prepare for a new career	23	16	13	.01
Aptitude tests	18	26	13	ns
Courses to allow resumption of career	17	14	5	ns
B. Year of Graduation of Women Desiring Aptitude Tests				
1939-40	19	40	14	
1945-46	18	50	7	
1953-54	18	13	18	
1961-62	15	9	13	
p	ns	.01	ns	

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Although only thirteen percent of the women say that courses enabling them to resume a career are an unmet need, the distribution according to age reflects a greater interest on the part of women in their forties. Women neutral about careers and around forty-five years of age are most desirous of aptitude tests to help them ascertain their strengths.

Family Life

Analysis of our respondents essay-type descriptions of what helped or hindered them in achieving a better life since college showed that both those who consider careers to be very important and very unimportant mention husbands more frequently than anything else as making a better life possible. Slightly more of the "VU"s than "VI"s value their husbands for gratifying emotional needs, providing luxuries, and enabling them to function well as wives and mothers. The "VI"s more frequently express appreciation of husbands for helping them overcome faults, encouragement of career, providing freedom, interesting companionship and growth. Slightly more "VU"s than "VI"s refer to the importance of children. Women in both categories, when discussing hindrances to achievement of a better life mention husbands and children less frequently than they make self-critical remarks about their lack of discipline, feelings of inferiority, or failure in the wife-mother role.

More "U"s and "VU"s than "I"s and "VI"s are married at the time of our study and fewer of the former are divorced (Table 11). There is almost no difference among women in the five career categories in regard to their husbands' inclination to welcome their interest in their work. About 75% greatly or moderately welcome their help (Table 12). Most husbands also encourage their wives' interests outside of the home, with the exception of the husbands of women who think a career is very unimportant; only half of them are said to give encouragement. In addition the groups differ in regard to husbands' approval of paid employment of wives. The percentages of husbands of non-working wives objecting to their having paid employment are VI, 19%; I, 30%; N, 53%; U, 48%; VU, 62%.

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Table 11

Marital Status of Career Groups
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU
Single	10	8	12	3	9
Married	77	82	80	91	89
Formerly married	13	10	9	6	2

$p > .10$

- -

The preponderance of the women in all groups show a tendency toward delegating decision making to their husbands. The question, "When it comes to making decisions, if you had to choose the one or the other, would you prefer to have your husband have strong priority or would you prefer to have strong priority yourself" is answered by almost all women in favor of their husbands' making the decisions (VI, 87%; I, 90%; N, 95%; U, 97%; VU, 98%). A questionnaire administered to Stanford senior women in 1965 showed that 83% of them wanted their spouses to have priority.[3]

Table 12

Husband's Involvement with Wife's Concerns
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	P
Discusses wife's worries with her	72	65	73	81	86	.08
Encourages wife's career or other interests outside the home	90	84	77	82	50	.001
Welcomes wife's help with his work	76	76	69	77	76	ns

Table 13

Women's Evaluation of Their Abilities
(Figures are percent of women who say they do well.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	P (from complete table)
Understanding husband	59	51	56	64	70	ns
Doing creative activities around house	46	52	49	57	54	<.01
Managing household	44	52	47	54	70	.03
Understanding their children	49	51	41	47	62	.001
Expressing positive feelings openly	59	46	45	33	57	.02
Being at ease and poised socially	54	43	35	48	58	ns
Dressing well	47	37	38	45	57	ns
Giving parties	40	35	41	39	54	ns
Handling financial matters	39	40	40	33	42	ns
Disciplining their children	36	29	34	38	51	ns
Participating in sports, outdoor activities	35	34	30	28	43	ns
Contributing to political or community activities	32	24	21	30	28	ns
Helping others emotionally	43	29	32	19	24	.02
Discussing and analyzing a serious novel	45	31	23	21	21	<.01
Doing something artistically creative	39	28	30	26	20	.08
Expressing negative feelings openly	26	30	27	14	41	.04
Discussing and analyzing political events	25	22	19	18	16	ns

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[3] Katz, Joseph, Editor. Growth and Constraint in College Students. Report to the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Danforth Foundation, 1967, p. 105.

Table 13 reports our women's assessment of their own competencies in a variety of areas. The "VU"s describe themselves as among the most competent in all skills except artistic creativity, analyzing political events or a serious novel, and helping others emotionally.

Life Styles

Our respondents, for the most part, are middle and upper class women who have comparable values and aspirations concerning material attainments and interpersonal relationships. In spite of these commonalities, the questionnaire responses of women in the five groups show considerable difference in life styles.

Career-Oriented Women

The impression the "VI"s make is of vigor and individuality. These women, for the most part, had been career-oriented during college and married men who are supportive of their decisions to combine marriage, mothering, and career interests. In contrast to the home-oriented, more "VI"s describe themselves as politically liberal, concerned with the problems of other people and somewhat less self-confident about their competence as wives and mothers. Fewer "VI"s participate in service activities, PTA, religious groups, and women's social clubs (Table 14).

The following are examples of how these women handle their domestic and professional careers:

> Dr. F. is an assistant professor teaching mathematics in a graduate school. She is in her early thirties and is married to a physician in private practice and has two children. She always thought in terms of a career and seems pleased with her way of life in spite of employer prejudice in hiring and discrimination due to differential sex policies. Although understanding her husband and children are important to her, she feels only "adequate" in this area and seems to be working on problems of communication and role definition. She decided to solve the problem "the same way he did--I am what I am... so there....Although I express some feelings on roles--I would not desire to be another woman (or man): life is great! Her job and her family both have made her life better.
>
> "College teaching-- someone pays me for learning and doing what I want to do--what a racket! A flexible job has been most helpful in working in a family. When something comes up with the kids, you just use a different kind of teaching technique, such as a library project; it

> works great. Having children has kept me in touch with reality and has been a source of stabilization between my husband and myself. Having close women friends has helped me in working through values and ideas."

> Mrs. O. also in her early thirties is more confident than Dr. F. about understanding her husband and children and shares her husband's profession, law. Law school and the practice of law were sources of gratification for her. "Both school and practice made my life fuller, more interesting and gave me a sense of individual worth and confidence which carry over into other areas of life. I feel fulfillment as an individual in knowing that I can work if I so desire in an area of great interest to me; that although I am temporarily devoting myself solely to my family (out of choice) I am not trapped. I can return to interesting work at any time and the future holds more than being a housekeeper after my children require less attention (and more than being a social butterfly, etc.). Marriage has contributed to making life better by providing a wonderful family, companionship and understanding in all phases of life, a sharing of career and personal interests, and children--an opportunity to savor some of the wonderful aspects of life.

The enthusiasm the "VI"s show for mothering and their warm affection for their husbands seem to indicate that marriage vs. career is not an issue in their lives, but rather the challenge lies in combining both roles competently. They do not differ significantly from women in other groups in their own estimates of their abilities to manage a variety of tasks (Percentages responding well or very well to the question regarding their ability to combine several major activities or responsibilities: VI, 65%; I, 71%; N, 62%; U, 70%; VU, 73%).

Although women who consider a career to be important have many values in common with those who consider a career to be very important, there are a number of differences between the two groups. Many more of the former work as secretaries and clerks and more than twice as many "VI"s as "I"s are in professions other than teaching (Table 6). The "I"s seem to develop their career interests later in life and this group contains a larger number of women who turned to careers after marriage by itself fell short of meeting their needs. A greater number of women in this group than in others indicate a desire for professional help with problems (Table 19). The following examples indicate that some "I"s drifted into career interest out of disappointment rather than as a result of evaluation of individual talents in their college careers.

Mrs. N. graduated with a BA in English in 1946 and at that time had no plans for a career. "I had no purpose when I came out of school. I thought I was going to get married and loaf but it didn't work out at all that way... I had to go to work...I had four years of college but that didn't amount to anything. I had to work to support the family; my husband lost his business...now it is still necessary for me to work as we have two boys in college. I started out as a typist. I was so bad that they promoted me. It is hard being a woman. I am doing the job of a man buyer and I know that I am being paid half of what the man whose job I took was paid. But there's nothing you can do about it. My job has given me a great deal of self-confidence, knowing that I can take care of myself. I had had trouble with boredom when my three girls were small and I was really stuck at home all the time. It's hard to adjust from a busy life as a student in college to the life of a housewife."

Mrs. A. teaches history in a high school part-time and has a small child. She graduated in 1962 and her husband is a businessman. Life since graduation has convinced her that she will need meaningful activity outside the home in the years to come. "I feel that my relationship to my husband is deeply enhanced since my intellectual abilities and interests are quite similar to his. I do not consider myself a 'career woman' but the profession for which my education prepared me provides an emotional outlet, intellectual stimulus, and a means to fulfill my need for individual accomplishment... I am one who feels our society is not fully ready to accept the educated woman. I find women's organizations and activities generally uninspiring and yet I am not admitted to the man's world except in my profession. Therefore for the five to ten years until my children are in school I will lack a large amount of mental stimulation to which I have become accustomed."

A 1940 graduate with a MA in French regretfully comments: "When entering Stanford, I wanted to work towards a law degree but I was talked out of it. I still wish I had gone ahead with my original plan and even now consider that learning law would be fascinating. I think having a degree that prepares a woman for some definite career is very important even though she is married. I'm working for the first time now as a secretary-bookkeeper, and find it has made me happier even though I had always kept busy with volunteer work of a demanding nature."

> A 50 year old woman with three years of science comments: "I wish I had finished school and were able to be more useful although until two years ago I gave it little thought. After thirty years of marriage and four children, I suddenly am most dissatisfied with life. My husband is terribly overworked and we have little time together. I am very bored since my older children are in college. My husband wants me to do what I like but I seem to be reaching a point of having no goal and I need one. Until now it was all important for me to get the children educated; now with only one to go that goal changes."

Women Who Are Neutral About a Career

Lack of future-orientation, passivity and less husband encouragement of careers characterize the "N"s. Their life styles frequently fit a pattern than can be described as non-linear, non-achievement-oriented. Many "N"s work early in their married lives, drop out of the labor market when rearing their children, and return to work when 40 to 50 years of age. The fact that 40-50% of the "N"s between the ages of 45 and 52 desire aptitude tests, a much larger percentage than is true of women in the other categories, may reflect a desire to be "told" what they should do in the matters of careers (Table 10). While almost as many "N"s as home-oriented women indicate that their husbands disapprove of their working outside the home, twice as manv home-oriented women describe a job as unattractive to them as do the "N"s. This seems to suggest that in the families of the "N"s there exists more divergence of opinion between spouses about the wives' roles. Almost three times as many "N"s say they are not working because of inability to find appropriate jobs than is true of the home-oriented (Table 5). The "N"s complain about sex-discrimination almost as frequently as do the "VI"s (Table 7).

> Mrs. A. went to Stanford for three years and did not stay to obtain the BA degree. Now 29 years of age, married and mother of three children, she had worked briefly as a clerk-typist. Originally she had worked to save money for her own education, but married before pursuing this goal. "Marriage and children have changed my goals from personal success in a career to my husband's success in his work, his happiness and helping our children to be well adjusted, productive individuals...Before marriage my future plans were indefinite. I intended to eventually make a career for myself but hadn't discovered what that career would be. After marriage, I had definite goals in life: 1) to make my husband happy and be an asset to his career; 2) to keep myself up-to-date and well informed so that I could be a good wife and mother. I honestly feel that every married woman must feel this way to be truly happy. This does not mean that

she must subjugate herself, becoming selfless and a slave to her family. On the contrary, she should take an active role in determining family goals and take the greatest satisfaction in their fulfillment. Consultation with a psychiatrist has helped me to have more confidence in myself and taught me that I should not always strive for absolute perfection."

Dr. P. has a Ph.D. in Chemistry. Unlike most "N"s, her mother had been in a profession with high status. Dr. P. gave birth to her first child shortly after obtaining her Ph.D. Now 37, she works part-time as a kindergarten teacher. Re-entering the field of science seems like an insurmountable job after an absence of many years. She does not seem to regret this. She comments that her husband would resent the inconvenience of having his wife undertake retraining for a career because of possible inconvenience regarding the family schedule: "...Dinner might not be ready on time when he got home." She differs from most respondents in her low evaluation of her competencies. She describes herself as doing most activities adequately but none"well." She has difficulty being creative or expressing negative or positive feelings openly. Dr. P. views herself critically for not having "a better idea of where I'm going, I'm sort of waiting to see what develops, procrastinating maybe...Part-time work seems to be the only thing I can manage and I sort of tend to wait until some job falls in my lap. My parents and everyone make me feel guilty for wasting my education but my husband doesn't think I'm cut out to be a scientist; we don't discuss it much; I think he doesn't particularily want me to be one. When asked what she imagined life to be like ten years later, she commented: "I'll be doing some sort of work, I imagine." At 57 she visualized herself traveling with her husband who then would be retired.

Home-Oriented Women

Although husbands and children are important in the lives of almost all woman in our sample, motherhood appears to be more of a central factor for the "U"s than for women in other groups. They have the largest percentage of women having more than two children; almost 60% of them have three or more children. Seventy-six percent of the "U"s who desired additional education but did not pursue it give as a reason that they wanted to care for their children. Only 19% indicate that they did not continue their education because of a feeling of obligation to care for their husbands (Table 9).

Table 14

Women Participating Regularly or Occasionally in Volunteer Activities
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	p
Service or philanthropy	53	69	56	78	79	<.001
PTA	42	49	45	70	49	.002
Religious groups	39	51	48	60	57	.03
Women's social clubs	29	38	33	51	46	.003
Scout leader	8	19	18	19	32	.03

Home-oriented women often are outspoken in their support of the domestic way of life. But they do tend to be more active in volunteer work than the career-oriented (Table 14). On the whole women who consider a career as unimportant are less self-confident in a variety of areas than those who consider a career as very unimportant. Although the former have more children, they less frequently describe themselves as very competent in disciplining or understanding their children than do the "VU"s with their smaller families. More "VU"s also indicate greater feelings of competence in expressing positive and negative feelings openly, helping others emotionally, and in having social poise and party-giving skills (Table 13). The women who consider a career to be unimportant resemble the "VU"s and contrast with women in the other groups in complaining least about boredom, lack of fun, husband's needs or insufficient friends (Table 17). Possibly because these women are protagonists of family-orientedness as a way of life, they sometimes are critical of those who desire careers as well as marital roles.

> A 1939 graduate with a BA in Political Science comments about her change in life goal: "As an undergraduate my goal was to be married and raise my children as respected, educated citizens. Now that goal is fulfilled, my present goal is to be able to help them financially in starting business or establishing homes. I am not interested in paid employment because community activities plus my desire for time for many recreational activities satisfies my needs. Besides I want to give my husband prompt assistance if he has unexpected work. I enjoy being kind and considerate to all my friends and neighbors and find great satisfaction in lending a sympathetic ear and helping hand in times of trouble... Having two sons in the armed services fighting a war which I do not support and seeing our country of which I have been so proud in such a demoralized condition is painful to me...It is hard for us to rationalize that some would prefer welfare programs to work, for instance. We are living in an affluent society with leisure time, luxuries, money, with too little

respect for the rights of others. Children are raised in a permissive atmosphere and are bewildered and lost when the world realities are thrust on them.

A 1939 Sociology major worked for one year after marriage. A well-to-do pretty woman, fashionably dressed, her life centers around marriage to a successful businessman, home and family life. "Having grandchildren and being needed and loved is all important; also having a successful husband and where-withal to travel." During her child-rearing days, she particularly enjoyed the tiny babies and toddlers, but found the period from 10 years of age until college to be most difficult. Her idea of an admirable woman is one "who doesn't rant or rave or boast about the great things she is doing." When under special pressures, such as arranging for a family wedding, she hires professionals to handle the event and keeps calm with the use of tranquilizers.

A 1945 graduate majoring in nursing who never had paid employment feels very strongly that mothers should be in the home when children are of school age. "I have had many wonderful experiences; perhaps the most rewarding has been the rearing of our two sons. Their eager, bright interest in the world around them through the various stages of their growth has certainly enriched my life...I did some volunteer work with a girls' club in my community and gained a much needed insight into the lives of disadvantaged children. In fact, so much so that when my sons reached junior high school I found it wise to forsake community services to make an attractive home for them. I came to the conclusion after working with disadvantaged children in my neighborhood, that what the world needs is a full-time mother. I am sure that these close years with our sons has benefited me and I would like to think it was to their benefit."

A 1945 graduate who did secretarial work prior to her marriage comments that happiness is being married to the most understanding and kindest husband in the world. "It is my feeling that many women return to work not only for economic reasons but to avoid family and community responsibilities. So much attention is given these days to the 'career' mother that just a plain mother who doesn't bring home a paycheck but puts in a 16 hour day in her home, family and community is made to feel most inadequate by educators, researchers, and psychiatrists...I regret the lack of college courses offered for intelligent, purposeful and practical child-rearing. There should be more emphasis placed on the importance of taking them. The child psychology courses I remember taking were technical and very inapplicable."

> A 1939 graduate with no paid work experience comments: "The shock of a wretchedly unhappy marriage which drove me to a marriage counselor resulted in the wider insight of myself--my children, people and a hither-to-unknown ability to accept people and circumstances as they are rather than as I would prefer. A second marriage to a man who is in the business world yet dares to be sensitive, kind and intellectual has been a source of great happiness. All the experiences that hindered the growing-up process hindered making life better. These included an extremely protective family, a very domineering first husband, a large continuing sense of inadequacy and a feeling of no importance except as a housekeeper. Feelings of inferiority and lack of confidence have always stood in my way, so has inhibiting shyness."

The responses of home-oriented women in our study either comfortably or defensively describe a way of life that affords them gratification and protection from the pressures of the world of paid work.

For thousands of years many women have enjoyed societal approval and personal gratifications in bearing and raising large families of children. As social pressures discourage women from having more than two children, one wonders what activities women with similar interests will turn to to gratify their needs, to test competencies, and to provide outlets for their nurturant talents? Responses from Stanford alumnae to our questionnaire indicate that more than half of the women in our sample of an age to have completed their families have three or more children (Percentages according to year of graduation having families with three or more children: 1939-40, 53%; 1945-46, 63%; 1953-54, 54%; 1961-62, 7%). In 1965 we asked Stanford students what family size they desired and 66% of the 212 women and 64% of the 272 men responding indicated that they planned to have three or more children.[4] In the intervening five years a great change in attitudes to family size has occurred. In a questionnaire administered by us in 1970 to almost nine hundred students, only 14% of the women and 21% percent of the men say they plan to have three or more children.[5] This apparent trend toward smaller families will have important repercussions in many aspects of family life and women's life styles.

The two groups of women who are most emphatic about their attitudes about careers, namely those who consider a career to be very important or very unimportant give questionnaire responses which convey the impression of more self-assuredness than is true of women in the other groups. For example, more women in both groups declare themselves very competent in expressing positive and negative feelings and describe themselves as possessing social poise. Women in these two groups tend to have smaller families, with 60% of both groups having two or fewer children. About 70% of both the "VI"s and the "VU"s describe their appearance as outstanding, very good or good when they were about 21 years of age. When asked about their appearance today, a smaller percentage of "VU"s describe themselves as "feminine" than do the "VI"s (Table 15).

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[4] Katz, Joseph and Associates. Growth and Constraint in College Students. 1967, p. 104.

[5] Katz, Joseph and Associates. Report to the Grant Foundation (in preparation).

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Table 15

Women's Description of Their Appearance
(Figures are percent.)

At age 21	VI	I	N	U	VU
Outstanding or very good	29	25	24	24	27
Good	40	29	34	35	45
Average	22	34	34	30	21
Less than average	9	12	7	10	9
In 1968					
Attractive	87	82	79	79	81
Well-groomed	76	80	73	75	79
Feminine	82	65	71	75	60

- -

Although the "VU"s share with the "U"s a disinterest in paid employment, the "VU"s are more self-confident about their competence in home tasks. They, more than other women in our sample, describe themselves as competent in managing their households, understanding their husbands and children, disciplining their children, dressing well, giving parties, and participating in sports or outdoor activities (Table 13). The "VU"s do not feel as competent as women in the other groups in their ability to help other people emotionally, or in their creative talents. They describe themselves as more articulate than the "U"s not only in expressing positive feelings, but especially in expressing negative feelings openly.

> Mrs. B. is a well-groomed healthy-appearing, alert woman in her early 50's. She views her life as highly successful. "I believe that the one great experience which has contributed to making life better has been my marriage. I was fortunate to have found a husband who has been an understanding and stimulating person to live with. His sense of humor has given our life a good balance wheel. We both enjoyed raising our three sons--my husband has been strict but fair. He has spent many hours working with them in projects around our house. We have also been fortunate to have been able to

travel extensively, both in the United States and abroad. Being married, I have always had a sense of freedom rather than a feeling of being "tied down." Our joys and sorrows have been mutually shared. Our similar interests in sports, traveling, business, home and children have made life a very fulfilling experience for me. My main concerns deal with dangers resulting from the turbulence of our times and the possibility of ill-health of my husband as a result of the tensions he works under. I feel that my greatest competence is in managing my household so that no one is neglected.

"I think that giving my husband enough time so he's happy and giving my children enough time so that they aren't neglected is most important. I think I've sort of balanced it out. I've had help, but I haven't gone overboard about help, just people who come in for a few hours, but they were the few hours needed to keep a household from getting disturbed and upset and the mother tired, cross and cranky. If anything I've done is important, I just think balancing off the life of the family has been it. I can't work well under tension. I think I've worked hard to keep tensions out of my life. This is why I don't want to be president of any organization...My husband has left me free to make my own decisions. He never has been dominant or domineering. I say he makes the final decisions-- he's definitely the boss of the household but I think it is a fact that he has never made me feel that I'm just--that I can't exercise my own individuality. He wouldn't get along with anyone who was just the clinging vine type. I've never felt tied down, not as much as when I lived at home with my mother."

Mrs. Q., a 1945 graduate with a MA degree in counseling "just loved" her brief period of employment as a personnel worker before marriage, but described herself as changing since her undergraduate years in so far as her goals are no longer career-oriented. Although not seeking employment because of her husband's disapproval, she is somewhat wistful about not having sufficient opportunity to utilize her training. Now that the children are in the last years of high school, she has to discipline herself "to temper my enthusiasm for outside activities so that I may be a good homemaker. My husband is convinced that my role is in the home. I feel the need to do something else. He is proud of the home, wants me to be Sophia Loren and Julia Child. I like to please him. He wants the house to be in good order. He has a glamorous job and meets lots of interesting women. I feel I have to keep my house and myself up to his standards. He insists that woman's place is in the home."

> Mrs. C., 28 years old with a BA degree in English, worked as a technical typist for about a year and "might think about" employment when her children are in college "if I felt the need for outside interests." "My main experiences were getting married and having a child, and both continue to make life better. Unless one has a really gratifying career, I think being a wife and mother is one of the most purposeful occupations. In addition to the obvious benefits such as being needed and gaining emotional security, being married and a mother has enabled me to know a man and a child very deeply, hence I think improved my knowledge of mankind in general. I am more tolerant of people, less of a self-styled psychologist. Also I definitely like the freedom afforded by being not employed outside the home. This makes the plain household drudgery bearable. I can pursue any interest I want when I want to."

Reading the responses of the fifty-four women who consider a career to be very unimportant and interviewing several of them conveys the impression that these women focus on being attractive companions to successful men who are hard workers, interested in sports, travel and clubs. Although involved in community activities, their interests are mainly privatistic.

Values, Satisfactions, and Dissatisfactions in the Career-Oriented and the Home-Oriented

There appears to be a relationship between political conservatism and lack of interest in a career. Compared with career-oriented women, more women who consider careers to be very unimportant are conservative Republicans; more women who consider careers as unimportant are liberal Republicans. There are fewer liberal Democrats and liberal Independents among the home-oriented than among the career-oriented women (Table 16).

The home-oriented appear to have found a way of life conducive to achieving the goals of self-confidence and contentment. For the most part, they indicate competence in areas considered to be of major importance to most of the women in our sample; i.e., understanding husbands and children, disciplining the latter, being socially poised, managing households (Table 13). By contrast, the career-oriented seem to be doing less well in some areas in the struggle for contentment and high self-esteem. They more frequently question their understanding of husbands and children and more frequently express discontent, complaining about boredom, lack of fun, and an insufficient quantity of friends (Table 16).

One wonders if the relative contentment of the home-oriented may entail some curtailment of their personal development and limitation of perceptions. Traditionalists--the home-oriented appear to be more traditional than the career-oriented women--often have more clear-cut definitions on what is right and what is wrong. Decisions are in some ways simpler, depending on custom for solution rather than on more individualized opinions. Sex-role behavior suitable for earlier periods are continued by comfortable identification with elders and avoidance of the uncertainties of experimentation. Critics of traditionalists assert that they tend to miss the complexities and viabilities of both their own situations and the personalities and situations of other individuals. The home-oriented, for example, twice as frequently as the career-oriented indicate that their goals have changed little or not at all since their undergraduate years (Table 18). Although as undergraduates they may have been characterized by special assurance in planning their lives, this stability also could go together more with self-satisfaction than with appropriate self-criticism and desire for growth. The environment of the home-oriented or their intra-psychic lives seems to have spurred them less than the others to re-examine goals that were satisfactory in their late adolescence. They describe themselves, in contrast with women in the other groups, as less in need of guidance in coping with the world outside the home, interpersonal relationships or intra-psychic conflicts (Table 19). This could indicate either serenity, success in coping with the world and other people, or a pattern of limiting one's life to avoid change or challenge. It could indicate comfortable functioning in a familiar and static environment in which demands are relatively well-defined. It could also indicate unwillingness or lack of skill in seeking out and perceiving other people, denial of complexity in interpersonal, intellectual, social, or political activities.

Table 16

Women's Political Leanings and Career-Orientation
(Figures are percent.)

		VI	I	N	U	VU
Liberal Republicans	(N=162) 36%	33	31	31	49	39
Conservative Republicans	(N=132) 29%	21	26	33	30	46
Liberal Democrats	(N= 61) 14%	14	20	12	11	4
Liberal Independents	(N= 47) 10%	14	12	10	5	7
Conservative Democrats	(N= 25) 6%	9	4	8	3	2
Conservative Independents	(N= 15) 3%	2	6	4	1	2
Other or none	(N= 9)	7	1	2	0	0

$p = .01$

Table 17

Great or Moderate Sources of Women's Dissatisfaction
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	p
Not enough time	79	84	76	81	83	ns
Constant interruptions	45	57	51	62	63	.07
Not enough intellectual or artistic activities	41	59	46	48	42	.02
Not enough fun	49	47	32	17	21	<.001
Children's needs	23	35	34	23	28	ns
Boredom	28	29	23	12	12	<.01
Not enough friends	32	31	27	8	9	.001
Demands of parents	24	28	15	20	15	ns
Husband's needs	11	20	20	8	18	ns
No employment	16	12	17	11	2	.002

Table 18

Women's Changes in Life Goals Since College
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU	p (from complete table)
Little or Not at all	31	30	40	56	70	<.001

Table 19

Women Indicating Little or Very Little Need for Guidance
in Coping with Inner Feelings, Attitudes, and Emotions
(Figures are percent.)

VI	I	N	U	VU
58	41	53	66	75

p (from complete table) <.001

Women Indicating Little or Very Little Need for Guidance in
Coping with the Demands Made by the Outside World or Other People

VI	I	N	U	VU
62	58	63	73	80

p (from complete table) <.01

One of the values of examining the lives of women in the context of their attitudes to career is that it focuses on a major problem confronting today's educated women. Nearly half of the women in the appropriate age brackets have three or more children and receive emotional gratifications and opportunities to develop their competencies in the process of caring for their families. The model family of the near future may be a two-child family. If smaller families become symbols of "responsible" parenting and if women continue lengthy lives of vigor and health, it is likely that women will want to modify life-styles. As child-care tasks diminish, women may either create new home-centered tasks or look outside the home for opportunities for service, self-development, and human association.

A complaint of almost eighty percent of our women, regardless of their interest in career, is lack of time. There is a pressing need to evaluate the time pressures of women with a variety of life-styles. It is only in recent years that middle class women have attempted to care for the young by themselves alone. Formerly, servants or husbandless female relatives provided additional support in dealing with the ceaseless demands of small children and the regressive pull of isolated association with them. Separation from relatives and increased mobility has put increased demands on the wife-mother for emotional as well as physical care of her husband and children. This task takes time and understanding and becomes more complex as our knowledge of personality expands. Besides child-care, homemaking requires many small, repetitive tasks which in nuclear families do not get done unless the wife-mother does them. Our study also shows that regardless of whether women work or not, more than two-thirds of the women in our sample have been engaged during the past five years in work other than homemaking or paid employment (Percentages of women indicating involvement in community, volunteer, alumnae and similar activities during last five years: 1939-40, 77%; 1945-46, 81%; 1953-54, 76%; 1961-62, 65%). These activities may add to a feeling of time pressure.

Half of our women complain about a lack of intellectual or artistic activities for them to engage in. This may be a consequence of the multiple tasks they attempt to undertake. Caring for the family, serious work either in community activities or paid employment and increased awareness of the emotional needs of family members may leave little time for the pursuit of intellectual or artistic activities. In our study of undergraduates the women showed more frequently than the men a serious interest in intellectual and artistic activities.[6] Some people hold to the superficial notion that middle class women have much leisure time. This assumes uninterrupted time for pursuit of intellectual or artistic interests. But more than fifty percent of our women complain about constant interruptions (Table 17). Women who are the primary providers of physical and emotional care for the family members often have little control over when interruptions occur. Time-motion studies of women with differing life styles would help specify the varying needs of women and suggest appropriate situational modifications. This is particularly important if women are to utilize the opportunities that are opening up for them. If one made available educational and occupational opportunities for women without assisting them in home responsibilities, they could not take adequate advantage of these opportunities.

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[6] Katz, Joseph and Associates. No Time for Youth. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968.

Recommendations

The preceding analysis of life styles of educated women suggests the need for a variety of programs to assist women better to utilize their time and talents. First, some women want little change in the status quo. A major unmet need of these women is education for personal enrichment (Table 10). These women indicate contentment with home, community service and a gracious way of life. It is likely that the cause of those women who want unlimited career opportunities for all, regardless of sex, would be furthered if they could accept the fact that some women (and men) view positively the traditional sex-role division of labor as dignified and rewarding. The general self-approval of women who consider careers to be very unimportant, combined with their political conservatism, and their freedom to express negative feelings openly, should alert feminists to the possibility that such women could provide vigorous opposition to programs depreciating the way of life of the home-oriented woman. There are persuasive arguments for retaining this pattern as one of several alternatives; especially as the career model, when patterned after that of men, often is far from humane or attuned to individual development. If one adds to the imperfection of men's career patterns the special discriminations inflicted on present-day career women, the argument gains strength for not antagonizing those who wish to follow traditional paths.

Second, women who are neutral about careers seem to typify women who could benefit from programs specifically designed for those who in their middle years seriously consider the world of work. Women in this group appear to have more interest in work than the home-oriented, but lower self-esteem and less capacity for initiative than the career-oriented. They could benefit from counseling and continuing education programs. Counseling should concern not only clarification of work opportunities and evaluation of talents but also the development of emotional readiness to move out of the home with confidence and minimal conflict.

Third, career-oriented women and their husbands appear most eager for full opportunity to develop skills and talents not necessarily related to wife-mother roles. An increasing number of families are choosing a life style that involves paid employment outside the home for the wife, as is reflected in the labor market.* A questionnaire administered by us to over four hundred Stanford women students in 1970 indicates that many more of them perceived a career as important for their self-fulfillment than is true of the alumnae described in this chapter (Table 20). This is part of an otherwise perceptible trend for educated women to aspire to both a gratifying family life and career development.

Table 20

Importance of Career for Self-Fulfillment
(Figures are percent.)

	VI	I	N	U	VU
Stanford alumnae (N=458) (1939-62)	24	27	20	17	12
Stanford students (N-411) (1970)	42	35	14	5	3

Programs to benefit the career-oriented should include easier entry for women of all ages into part-time or full-time professional training and elimination of work and educational practices which discriminate against women. Improved services for child care and home tasks are necessary to enable career-oriented women to develop their talents without the physical and emotional strain of unbearably long hours of work. Although child-care centers with competent staff may be one answer to the needs of the working mother, experimentation and research is needed to develop a variety of facilities for child-care. The opportunity for greater individual development of women who enjoy working outside the home should be accompanied by child-care services which take into account our knowledge of what best develops the mental and emotional growth of children.

The preceding data about women with differing attitudes to career indicate that such attitudes are rooted in differing values and life-styles. The home as an institution has been and is changing rapidly due to technological changes and population pressures. Women, in particular, have to cope with these changes. Some women are able and willing to follow a way of life similar to that of parents with whom they identify. Other women have to look elsewhere for models or are trying to carve out new patterns. The assumption that any one pattern, either home-orientedness or career-orientedness is appropriate for all women must be avoided. The individual woman's personality, temperament, family situation, capabilities and interests should be the deciding factors. But we are living in a time of so many changes in environmental conditions, that the emergence of new patterns that cut across the old distinctions must be expected.

Chapter IV

IMAGES OF WOMEN IN WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

Peggy Comstock

I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

In a study such as this, the easiest pitfall to slip into might be to label everything in women's magazines as representing "The American Woman." It must be remembered that American women are not totally defined by women's magazines; that women are likely to read other things as well; and that some articles in women's magazines may be of equal interest to men. Without doing "market research" we cannot be sure in what instances the content of these magazines represents what a woman reader actually wants and when it represents the wants projected on her by a magazine editor.* One might discover readers' preferences either by finding out how magazines do market research and how they have changed in response to research findings, or by taking note of any magazine, such as Cosmopolitan, that has had a rise in circulation following a change in editorial style.

In the magazines written for homemakers, is there a contradiction in the fact that career women put out a magazine for readers most of whom are employed solely as homemakers--even though the editors may be homemakers, too? What are editors' conscious and unconscious attitudes toward their readership? Superiority? Resentment? Pity? Envy? Do their attitudes influence magazine content? Do editors in any way want to keep their homemaking readers in their place?

The Harvard undergraduate newspaper's policy concerning what it would publish was that any subject that interested a member of the staff would interest someone in its readership. This policy is obviously suitable to a community that regards itself, at least rhetorically, as egalitarian; but it is one apparently not common in the publishing world. To what extent do women's magazine editors regard their clientele as like themselves, and to what extent as a particular market for whom material must be selected and processed in a particular way (an attitude that seems inherently condescending)? One indication might be the extent to which readers are encouraged to participate in making the magazine. Redbook has a regular slot called "A Young Mother's Story." They will pay $500 for an article dealing with "your solution to or your own personal opinions about any problem that concerns you as a mother, wife, homemaker, or citizen." McCall's will pay $1000 for "the story of a turning point in your life...a critical time or decision or moment of awareness that changed your thinking, deeply affected your marriage and family relationships or in some other way significantly altered the course of your life for better or for worse." Good Housekeeping apparently does not include its readers this way, though it has a feature that follows this format. Called "My Problem," it seems to be written by a professional writer.* Mademoiselle sponsors a yearly competition for college girls, buys and publishes the best fiction and poetry that come out of that contest, and invites 21 winners to be guest editors of the magazine for one issue. Vogue has a "Prix de Paris" contest that gives the winners jobs on Conde Nast publications, but it does not publish articles written by any of the contestants. The contest is rather an elaborate process of job-screening, in which applicants are asked to demonstrate their taste.

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* An editor of a woman's magazine reading an earlier draft of this paper commented:

"You might want to consider too how advertising affects editorial content. A leading question here might be whether it is always the readers' wants (or even what the editors think their readers want--or should want) that determines magazine content, or whether that is affected by the 'image' the magazine wishes to present to male ad salesmen whose milieu is Madison Avenue and Darien."

It is logical that the magazines least condescending to their readers should be magazines whose editors think of their readers as being like themselves. In the case of homemaking magazines, it may be that male editors least fulfill this condition. Betty Friedan observed:

> I found a clue one morning, sitting in the office of a women's magazine editor--a woman who, older than I, remembers the days when the old image was being created, and who had watched it being displaced. The old image of the spirited career girl was largely created by writers and editors who were women, she told me. The

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* Topics covered in these features also reveal something about the nature of the magazines. Redbook's column in the issue under examination is called "Why I Believe in Sex Before Marriage"; McCall's is by a housewife who suddenly realized she was making a martyr of herself in imitation of a childhood nurse and the almost mystical feeling of "Nowness" and of being "close to myself" she had once she was able to abandon the martyrdom. Good Housekeeping's article tells how "I was angry and mystified when my husband gave up a good office job to go to work in a garage."

Some information received from Good Housekeeping qualifies the comparison among these magazines with respect to reader-participation features. "It may interest you to know that many, if not most, of the problems in our Problem Series come from the reader mail, or from unsolicited manuscripts. On the other hand, it would be surprising if a 'reader participation' feature could consistently reach the level of writing necessary for a national publication without extensive editorial help. Readers often have profound insights to contribute, but unless they are practiced in expressing themselves via the written word, they are not always able to convey these clearly....the way a feature is billed may also be a matter of editorial policy."

> new image of woman as housewife-mother has been largely created by writers and editors who are men.....
>
> ...there was a new kind of woman writer who lived in the housewife image, or pretended to; and there was a new kind of woman's editor or publisher, less interested in ideas to reach women's minds and hearts, than in selling them the things that interest advertisers--appliances, detergents, lipstick. Today, the deciding voice on most of these magazines is cast by men. Women often carry out the formulas, women edit the housewife "service" departments, but the formulas themselves, which have dictated the new housewife image, are the products of men's minds.[1]

The following tabulation tries to determine the proportion of men among editors who would have a hand in determining editorial policy or the content of articles and fiction published. Thus, only senior editors and editors at the top of the masthead (editor-in-chief, managing editor, etc.) are counted. Of these editors, some were not counted, such as those specifically in charge of service features (beauty, fashion, home equipment, etc.); production; or art, since these editors are concerned with aspects of the magazine that the present article does not focus on. Since different magazines structure their staffs differently, comparison is difficult, if meaningful at all. Probably inside information about who determines publishing policy is necessary.

Good Housekeeping	6 men editors out of	8 editors counted
Family Circle	2	3
Redbook	6	11
Ladies' Home Journal	5	13
Cosmopolitan	2	5
McCall's	6	17
Woman's Day	0	5
Vogue	0	5
Mademoiselle	0	6
Harper's Bazaar	0	6
Glamour	0	9

Such data are at best only suggestive. Having female editors doesn't necessarily make the magazine in the best interests of women; and having all its top editors women doesn't prevent Woman's Day from being as home-oriented as they come. It is interesting, though, that the magazines with the greatest proportions of women editors are the fashion magazines and the single-girl magazines, which do project the most dynamic images of women. (Cosmopolitan does not have a "large proportion" of female editors, but its editorial policy is determined by a woman. See discussion below.)

II. APPROACH

The magazines selected were all those of large circulation addressed specifically to women. My sample, bought on October 26, 1967, included the November issues of McCall's (circulation 8,615,000), Family Circle (8,208,000), Woman's Day (7,223,000), Ladies' Home Journal (7,000,000), Good Housekeeping (6,565,000), Redbook (4,400,000), Glamour (1,239,000), Cosmopolitan (917,000), and Mademoiselle (657,000); the October 15 issue of Vogue (491,000); and the October issue of Harper's Bazaar (405,000).* Unless otherwise noted, all references to articles in these magazines refer to these issues.

Simply because this point of view has already been presented, I tried to avoid the tendency to attack women's magazines, to stigmatize them as representing a fantasy-world, or even to regard them as reflecting a women's world vastly different from that of men. On the contrary, I tried at first to notice how many articles could be of equal interest to men and women. I wished also to keep in mind that these are specimens of "mass culture," and that much of what academic people might criticize or look down on results from their being directed to people other than academics, not from their being directed to women rather than men. To get a truly balanced picture of women's magazines, one would have to compare them with men's magazines of comparable calibre--not only Esquire, which is practically elite and practically a "general" (not men's) magazine, but also Playboy, True, Argosy, and others.

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* Good Housekeeping writes to suggest that circulation figures are not necessarily a good indication of the extent to which a given magazine reflects its readers' interests. "Total circulation figures are misleading, since it is no secret that subscription circulation can be manipulated by intensive promotion and cut-rate offers to whatever level the magazine desires (advertising rates are dependent on circulation guarantees). More meaningful, it is generally agreed, are newsstand sales figures, since the nonsubscriber must reaffirm her interest in the magazine every month by plunking down the full single-copy price. You may suspect that I have an ulterior motive in telling you this, and you are right: Good Housekeeping has been first at the newsstands, among women's magazines, ever since 1964."

III. NON-FICTION IN MAGAZINES FOR HOMEMAKERS*

Though we say that certain articles in women's magazines could interest men as much as women, we do not maintain that a man might actually sit down and read them. Of course there would be a stigma against his doing so in the first place. But in addition, a man might likely regard the information in a woman's magazine as less authoritative than that in a general or man's magazine,** and the articles in a woman's magazine might be written with a particular slant or approach that would put a man off. Thus, I would imagine that "How to Stop Fighting over Money" (Redbook) and "The New 'Safe' Cigarette Filter" (Good Housekeeping) are of general interest. So, too, would be a collection of articles on travel in the Western states (Redbook), though I do notice that these have slants that might be considered feminine. One concerns showing the wild parts of California to a Japanese girl about to attend college for a year in the states (a format that might focus more on interpersonal aspects than would be congenial to a male reader.) Mrs. Stewart Udall, in an article describing a camping trip in the Southwest, feels obliged to make a ceremonial bow toward the battle of the sexes (rubric: The Impractical Male Who Can't Get Down-to-Earth):

> ...the combination of engines roaring down the highway, the intense, humid heat and a host of giant mosquitoes was too much for us. We did try, telling stories and singing songs to lull the little ones to sleep; but at last, when the older children insisted it was no use, I agreed to move on. At 2 a.m. we broke camp and drove all the way to the Texas Panhandle.
>
> We arrived in Amarillo before noon, and a little sheepishly settled into a plush motel, where we swam, ate, watched television and slept. Guiltily we telephoned Stewart to explain that we were more than a day ahead of schedule. We persuaded him to leave early and join us at Bandelier National Monument, in New Mexico. We felt even worse when he scolded us (from an air-conditioned Washington office) for "for letting a few mosquitoes" send us packing. (Redbook)

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* The magazines for homemakers are McCall's, Family Circle, Woman's Day, Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, and Redbook.

** Jessie Bernard, in Academic Women cites a study indicating that students are more likely to accept the information in a set lecture as "fact" when it is given by a man than when the same lecture is given by a woman.[2]

I would also presume that "How Teachers Make Children Hate Reading" by John Holt (Redbook) is of general interest, though it does have what some people would call the "female slant" of talking about what happens to Johnny in the classroom rather than talking analytically about systems of education. Of course, the stereotypical man who could be interested in these articles may not be the "average American male." I have in mind a stereotypical man who takes some interest in the dynamics of child development or who is willing to consider the interpersonal emotions that get attached to the spending of money. There are other stereotypes of the American male, presumably extant in reality, who would care mainly about their sons' bringing home marketable grades, or who would rule the spending of money so tightly that it would be irrelevant to examine one's feelings about it.

Since the articles are often of general interest, then, the magazines seem to have moved away from the endless glorification of fixing up the home with your husband and caring with him for the children--the glorification that Betty Friedan says was de rigueur in the fifties. Nor do editors seem obliged, as she says they were, to tie every subject to woman's biology or place in the home. We do not find quite this sort of thing today:

> ...An editor of Redbook ingeniously tried to bring the bomb down to the feminine level by showing the emotions of a wife whose husband sailed into a contaminated area... A natural childbirth expert submitted an article to a leading woman's magazine called "How to Have a Baby in an Atom Bomb Shelter." "The article was not well written," an editor told me, "or we might have bought it." According to the mystique, women, in their mysterious femininity, might be interested in the concrete biological details of having a baby in a bomb shelter, but never in the abstract idea of the bomb's power to destroy the human race.[3]

While such "slants" are usually introduced out of disrespect for female intellect, it might be pointed out that there is nothing inherently objectional about trying to engage people emotionally on the subject of nuclear war!

Topics Covered, Topics Not Covered

What Betty Friedan says about the topics homemaking magazines exclude still holds true for the most part:

> By the time I started writing for women's magazines, in the fifties, it was simply taken for granted by editors, and accepted as an immutable fact of life by writers, that women were not interested in politics, life outside the United States, national issues, art, science, ideas, adventure, education, or even their own communities, except where they could be sold through their emotions as wives and mothers.[4]

While the fashion magazines and Mademoiselle do write about all of these topics (though very sketchily in some instances), none of the articles in Good Housekeeping, Family Circle, or Woman's Day touches on any of them. (In 1968 Family Circle began a series on women's contributions to their communities; one of these articles was about women fighting smog in Los Angeles.) The Ladies' Home Journal does have an article on education, "Where to Get Bad Advice about College," but it is actually a child-centered article. Redbook has three articles dealing with the subjects Betty Friedan said were excluded in the fifties--a piece by Margaret Mead about her return to New Guinea after twenty years, and her observations of its cultural changes in the post-war world; a discussion of the detrimental ways reading is taught to children; and a guide to artwork being done in the Western states. McCall's has three articles that edge up sideways to the list of formerly forbidden topics and some that definitely belong on the list. "A Psychiatrist's Notebook," McCall's regular column by Theodore Isaac Rubin, M.D., discusses the fear of being homosexual, the fear of being crazy, and the psychological dimensions of anger. Lynda Bird Johnson writes a letter from abroad, describing the idealism that motivates young people working abroad in programs like and including the Peace Corps. Gloria Steinem interviews Truman Capote. Aline Saarinen contributes the sixth in her series of art criticism--a discussion of Breughel and his painting, "Hunters in the Snow," reproduced in the magazine (for framing). McCall's editorials, a two-page gray spread in smaller type than the magazine features, read like a page out of Betty Friedan's own book. "Cities Are Too Important to Be Left to the Men" notes that since beauty and pleasure have been deemed women's province, men have thought them secondary. It criticizes the life style of the suburbs and asks what is the good of moving to the suburbs for the children's sake if there is nothing interesting there for the children to grow up into, and if the child's parents are going to atrophy and be an unworthy example to their children. Another editorial explains why the welfare system is not only inadequate but demeaning and counterproductive, arguing along the lines outlined by Daniel P. Moynihan. Arnold J. Toynbee points out that the atomic age has made world government a necessity. Another editorial discusses one of the articles in the magazine (another on that list of taboos--adventure), an account of a Michigan housewife's replication of Amelia Earhardt's flight in a rebuilt vintage Lockheed. The editorial uses the occasion to celebrate women's present-day opportunity to do anything they feel like doing. It even cites some slightly misleading statistics to prove its point about women's advancement, noting that the number of women earning Ph.D.'s has tripled since 1930. The U.S. Department of Labor's 1965 Handbook on Women Workers, however, gives a different impression:

> Although the number of women taking advanced degrees has increased, women earn only a small proportion of all advanced degrees conferred. Thus in 1964 women earned 32 percent of all master's or second level degrees. This was considerably below the peak of 40 percent registered in 1930. However, it is above the 19 percent they earned in 1900 and a more recent low or 29 percent they earned in 1950.

> Women have made even less progress at the doctor's level. Despite a slow rise since the turn of the century in the number of women earning doctor's degrees, the proportion of these degrees earned by women has increased only slightly since 1950. In fact, the 11 percent of all doctor's degrees earned by women in 1964 is considerably below the 15 percent they earned in 1930.[5]

Changes are occurring, then, even in homemaker's magazines. McCall's initiated a self-conscious change in late 1965, and in such publications as Writer's Yearbook calls writers' attention to the growing sophistication and intelligence of the woman reader.

> Statistics show women to be better educated today and their receptivity to more sophisticated material is borne out, significantly, in McCall's readership. The editors feel that the main challenge they face...is raising the magazine's level of excellence. Writers who wish to see how the magazine is changing are referred to summer and fall 1965 issues. No subject of wide public or personal interest is out of bounds for McCall's so long as it is appropriately treated. The editors...are on the lookout for new research that will provide the basis for penetrating articles on the ethical, physical, material and social problems concerning readers...Many assignments this year have gone to novelists, playwrights and poets, to bring more grace and drama to the article writing in the magazine.

The issue under study includes Truman Capote's "The Thanksgiving Visitor."

Comparison of Styles: Redbook and Good Housekeeping

Given that most non-fiction in these magazines still does revolve around health, children, family, entertainment, and interview-stories about some prominent personality, there is still some scope for varying styles within these limitations. This point can be illustrated by comparing Good Housekeeping, one of the more conservative homemaking magazines, with Redbook, one of the more forward-looking. As already noted, Redbook published this month an anthropological memoir by Margaret Mead, who has a regular column in this magazine. Another article that ventures somewhat beyond the bounds is "Why I Believe in Sex before Marriage," a "young mother's story" contributed by a reader. The writer argues that premarital sexual intimacy will allow lovers to know each other better and consider how well they might live together, without sex remaining the big mystery factor that is expected to solve all difficulties. This is a piece of contemporary morality that is probably congenial to a majority of Redbook readers; it would almost certainly not be so to Good Housekeeping.

"A Redbook Dialogue: Lee Marvin and Johnny Carson," like the preceding article, makes the point that young people today are much more sensible about sex than the preceding generation. The two show-business figures agree that it should be made as difficult to get married as it is to get divorced. They discuss their earliest memories, views on raising children, pervasive feelings of guilt engendered in American culture, etc. "How to Stop Fighting over Money," by John Schimel, M.D., is an analysis along the lines of Eric Berne's Games People Play, and demands quite a lot of the reader in understanding how a person will use money to satisfy childish personality needs or to dominate a spouse. Indeed, the one article (there is perhaps one other, the kidney-disease article, discussed below) that does not, at least in some way, go beyond the home-and-baby writing Betty Friedan described as the norm, is Dr. Spock's "The First Hours." Dr. Spock, another regular contributor, chiefly describes what happens during birth--how the newborn looks; how mothers feel when they see their babies for the first time (some are disappointed by the baby's appearance and are dismayed that they feel no immediate "mother love"); what tests are made to see if the baby is healthy, and so on. But the article is prefaced by some of Dr. Spock's own psychological theory, which can hardly be called radical, in spite of what has been said of him. He writes:

> A majority of the women who have been conscious while giving birth to a baby say that despite whatever pain, this is the most dramatic, the most soul-satisfying moment in their lives--to deliver into the world another human being, preformed, with a personality and destiny of his own. Despite his separateness after birth, the child will continue to belong primarily to his mother for at least a dozen more years in what is mankind's strongest relationship. Certainly little girls, who form the core of grown women, look forward to becoming mothers as the most desirable and exciting event of all. And boys show their agreement by their envy of girls when they are young and by their striving to compensate for their inability to create biologically by creativity in the arts and technologies for the rest of their lives.

In general, the Redbook articles indicate a fairly high respect for the reader's intelligence and openmindedness, or at least for her willingness to acknowledge publicly norms of behavior that are already prevalent if not predominant in our society, without needing to fall back on pious moralizing. Contrast Good Housekeeping's rather staid and safe interests: "Queen Elizabeth and Philip: The Good Life They Share After 20 Years"; "The New 'Safe' Cigarette Filter"; "Is There a Real Dean Martin?" (chiefly about Dean Martin's home life); and "What are Your Chances in a Medical Emergency?" (about the inadequacies of ambulance and other emergency services). All of Good Housekeeping's authors are apparently by professional writers, who will write for the market, while six out of Redbook's seven articles are written by people speaking in their own voice about something of importance to them,* four of them being professionals writing about their own work. This fact in itself accounts for the higher degree of emotional authenticity and intellectual involvement in Redbook's articles, which in turn produce its better writing.

The two Good Housekeeping articles that deal with family life focus on its stability among glamorous people (Queen Elizabeth, Dean Martin) who are made to seem much like the reader; while the Redbook articles on family life discuss problems and anxiety-evoking situations anyone could encounter (sex before marriage, fighting over money, children hating to read). Good Housekeeping has high praise for Dean Martin's wife Jeanne,

> ....a remarkable woman who has made a close family of her own three children and the four from Dean's previous marriage...The Martin family was anything but close when Jeanne first married Dean. The conflict between Dean and his first wife had made their four children remote and suspicious, and Dean's frequent absences on the road with Jerry Lewis placed on Jeanne the whole burden of creating a family relationship....Her favorite costume consists of freshly pressed slacks, a tailored blouse and tennis shoes just out of the washer. Eschewing competition with Hollywood glamourous types, Jeanne Martin prefers to cast herself in the role of wife and mother, and she dresses accordingly. The formula seems to suit Dean. Although he rarely says so, he is grateful for the happy home she has provided.** (ellipses mine)

One wonders if Good Housekeeping would ever write about a wife who dressed in the individualistic and striking style represented in Harper's Bazaar! What is disconcerting is not so much the plain-Janeness Good Housekeeping prefers, but the way they identify Jeanne Martin's sneakers with her wifehood and motherhood. It would be more appropriate for them to offer insight into how she achieved the admirable feat of bringing intimacy to a disjointed family. Instead, they mention her spending "many an hour" with her daughters teaching them "how to shake hands and make introductions and how to behave on a date." Instead, they discuss her discipline of the children, in one sentence: "When one of them misbehaved, he or she was sent upstairs without dinner or denied the use of television or an automobile." These notes on manners and discipline represent the entire discussion of her part in the family.

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* In one of these stories a young widow narrates her struggle to save her husband's life to two writers who specialize in medical reporting, but the narrator's personal involvement is still high. See discussion below.

** It is perhaps not inappropriate to note that this couple was divorced not long after this article appeared.

The medical articles are also handled differently. Good Housekeeping's article on smoking is quite impersonal and fact-oriented, and the article on emergency care and ambulance services is partly fictionalized and somewhat sensational (a sort of horror story).* By going to two extremes, these articles avoid the middle zone in which a reader might suffer because of close emotional identification with a person in anguish. It urges community organization to arrange better care, since any of "you yourself" could require emergency treatment. The Redbook article ("The Rest Are Simply Left to Die") demands our sympathy for a man with an unusual disease (kidney malfunction) and relates the anguish his wife went through trying to find a hospital kidney-machine her husband could use. She faced not only shortage of these expensive machines and of trained personnel, but also the discrimination between good-risk and bad-risk patients. Her husband, a diabetic, was a poor risk, and he died for lack of a machine. There was also a possibility of using a modified machine at home, and the discussion of this possibility asks the reader to face some very upsetting thoughts in an immediate way:

> Diana says that another concern doctors feel about home dialysis is for the wife who finds herself tied to her husband's blood-washing machine. "They have discovered that the married partner who is in charge of the machine is often in a state of terror for fear something will go wrong and you will have killed your husband or wife--I mean, just because you had a phone call and forgot to pull the switch. Or maybe you have a cold or a disagreement with a neighbor and you don't hook things up right. Maybe it could destroy your sex life. I don't know...I never got a chance to find out. /ellipsis in text/

Another revealing comparison can be made between Redbook's and Good Housekeeping's articles dealing with school-age children. In

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* Good Housekeeping writes: "You comment that our article on emergency care and ambulance services is partly fictionalized. It is, on the contrary, completely factual; the lead incident, which you may have considered to be fiction, is in fact taken, complete with conversation quoted, from the court records of a suit against the hospital involved."

The Redbook and Good Housekeeping articles do strike a reader differently, however. Probably the most significant difference between them is that the Redbook article leaves in the forefront of the reader's mind the suffering endured by a widow who is, herself, narrating her own experience; while the Good Housekeeping article on emergency care alternates shocking incidents of mismanagement with the calm marshalling of facts by a professional writer, whose contact with the topic is research rather than personal suffering.

Redbook John Holt tells how he was able to lead children to enjoy reading by dissociating reading from humiliation, failure, and boredom. After teaching many years by conventional methods, he realized that many bright pupils actually read very little and disliked reading. He discontinued the kind of teaching that makes pupils look up every word they don't understand, or that quizzes them on each chapter to make sure they "got" every point, and initiated a program of reading in which every student could read anything he wanted to, only reporting the title and author and a one-sentence summary to the teacher. Nor did a student have to finish a book he didn't like. One fifth-grader began by reading third-grade books and ended up with Moby-Dick, having found on the way books that touched her own interests very deeply. Mr. Holt did similar experiments with writing, finding that even first-graders, when freed from the worry about spelling correctly, wrote freely and used words much more ambitious than any in their texts. The approach to the school-age child, in other words, explains in terms of the child's self-fulfillment the value of giving the child his freedom and encouraging his delight.

In Good Housekeeping we find "An Open Letter to the Father of a Boy Who Won't Get His Hair Cut." Ostensibly, the aim of the article is to liberalize parental discipline of teenagers. It explains that having long hair doesn't mean that a boy is "at best an arty phony; at worst a homosexual, a beatnik" and that in general parents are so worried about drinking, drugs and sex that they are too quick to "blow the whistle" on their children. That the writer of the article feels obliged to make these points must indicate something about where his audience is at; the language also suggests something about these parents in their role as policeman. Further, the article justifies allowing teenagers to wear their hair as they please by explaining that rebellion is "a necessary step for every adolescent if he is to develop an adult personality." The chief of Harvard's psychiatric services is the article's authority here. He explains that there are harmful ways of rebelling--drugs, stealing, drunken driving, cheating--and there are harmless ways, matters of following teenage styles that may be irritating to adults. But all this is necessary so that the adolescent can turn out to be a normal adult like his parents. Just as this "open letter" begins,

> I'll bet...that when school reopens Monday he'll walk in with his hair cut the way you want it. He's an obedient son and he respects you completely. In class, he'll quote your opinions on practically everything--the space program, pro football, long-range weather forecasting. And when he says, "My Father..." he always puts a capital letter in his voice.

so it ends,

> If a boy measures up in other ways, we /at our high school/ don't fault him for long hair. We figure there's nothing wrong with a boy's trying on the cool look if he wants to. At least while he's in school.
>
> Next year, when Andy graduates, he'll probably have to start conforming to the standards of the adult world. A barber is waiting for him, either in the army or in an office building downtown. The day he sits in the chair and gets that haircut he'll never go back to the look or the attitudes or the experiences that made up his life in high school.

The implicit threat, one that the author may not have been aware of, is that unless you let your son rebel in a harmless way, he might do something really bad. And on a conscious level, the article's rationale is that letting your son look the way he wants to is something that has to be put up with in order for him to come out exactly like you. Nothing he does while he's young is really important or can have any lasting effect.

A quick summary of the differences between Good Housekeeping and Redbook might go as follows: Good Housekeeping turns the reader's attention to the family--ideally, a close-knit family, but if not it assures the reader that splits or generation gaps are only superficial--and to what one should do to keep the family well-behaved, healthy, and safe. It avoids exploration of emotional needs. Redbook presumes that its readers' interests will range farther afield in the world outside the family and deeper into the family's emotional life.

This comparison demonstrates that even though a woman's magazine may still center its concerns on home and family--as women's magazines are likely to do, as long as women specialize in child care and homemaking--these topics can be treated in a way that is helpful to a thoughtful woman. The comparison also suggests that a magazine recognizing a woman's intellectual interests in extrafamilial concerns and her capacity for psychological insight will probably also have the more sophisticated approach to home-oriented articles.

IV. FICTION IN MAGAZINES FOR HOMEMAKERS

If, in reading the feature articles, I could assimilate many of them to an epicene world of "general interest," the fiction was very different. I could no longer go on claiming that any of it could be as interesting to men as to women.*

Another factor called my attention more forcefully to the fiction of special interest: in my reading of the September 21, 1967 Elle, which I had undertaken to see whether a French woman's magazine projected a different image of "woman," the features on parenthood, on exercises for the figure, on decorating, the notes on modern life styles, even the article on Red China--all seemed reasonably familiar. The only element strikingly different was the one piece of fiction included; one could feel quite safe in saying that it would never appear in an American magazine for homemakers (though something like it could be published in Harper's Bazaar or Mademoiselle). In this story a young man and a young woman have an affair; the girl becomes pregnant by the young man's best friend. Apparently losing her desire to live, the girl dies in childbirth; her original lover takes care of the baby and continues his relationship with his best friend. Unlike the stories in American homemaking magazines, this story offers no opportunity for a woman to derive conventional satisfaction or comfort from reading it; there is no happy ending, and no problem is resolved. Like the American magazines, Elle is written for young homemakers, but its fiction (at least in this issue) helps one to see the taboos observed in its American counterparts. There may be exceptions, but the following seem to be the general rules.

First, all the American stories studied had happy endings--or, if not happy in the sense of being joyful, the ending carried the feeling of a situation's being resolved in some positive way. The single exception followed this rule on the literal level but seemed to be undercut by a tone of irony (15).** Second, the hero and heroine in Elle are involved in illicit sexual behavior. This does not occur in American homemaking magazines. There, adultery is suspected; but it proves not to have taken place (10). Premarital sexual relations are a matter for coy by-play, but whether or not the couple actually manages to sleep together is left to the reader's imagination--and the reader is also left acutely aware of the presence of chaperones (11). Only minor characters actually engage in illicit sexual relations, which moreover are only reported to have occurred in the distant past (6, 8).

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* The comments of David McClelland may suggest something about the differences between men's and women's fiction: "I found years ago that all I had to do to get college men to write imaginative stories full of achievement themes was to tell them their intelligence and leadership qualities were at stake. The same approach had no effect on the women's fantasies. They remained unmoved by all sorts of appeals of this kind which we tried in an attempt to generalize our finding to the female sex. No luck. Women were just 'different.' When another investigator used a technique we had employed to arouse affiliation thoughts in men on women, he found that it increased their achievement thought. The technique involved asking a person to stand up in a group while the rest rated him or her on various traits (which had favorable and unfavorable connotations). This made men feel lonely and possibly rejected so that they filled their stories with themes of love and interpersonal support. But the same experience made the women think about achieving since interpersonal relations define their self-image just as assertive leadership does for men."[6]

** Stories are numbered and listed by magazine at the end of this section, p. 141.

A third difference is that the story in Elle is not written to bolster or boost the female ego; the reader cannot comfortably identify with a successful heroine and share her reward. In the Elle fiction, a relationship between two men proves more durable than one between a man and a woman; the girl dies (her death could be seen as punishment or self-punishment); the female is deprived of that asset she can always claim even if she has no others, that of being the life principle. But the American-counterpart fiction usually offers gratifications easily accessible to the not-too-demanding reader. McCall's and Good Housekeeping stipulate their needs in fiction in Writer's Yearbook '67 in the following way:

> Most of all, fiction can awaken a reader's sense of identity, compliment or reassure her, arouse her to responsibility, refresh her with a laugh at herself, etc. McCall's looks for stories which will have some meaning for an adult reader of some literary sensitivity....
>
> We want fiction at Good Housekeeping to portray situations which offer a strong element of reader identification. Characterization and thought content count more with us than plot, but we also look for stories which contain practical and believable solutions offerred in dramatic contexts.

A great writer, choosing to write on any of these themes, could produce a great work of art as long as he was following his own creative paths. It is when you get free-lance writers writing to order that you get fiction of bad quality. Betty Friedan records that when she wrote fiction for women's magazines, she was always told that "women have to identify" with the heroine. There is nothing wrong in a reader identifying with a story's hero; identification is generally recognized to be an important process in the reading of literature. What can legitimately be criticized is the kind of heroine or situation a woman's magazine expects its readers to identify with, as Betty Friedan points out:

> In 1960, I saw statistics that showed that women under thirty-five could not identify with a spirited heroine of a story who worked in an ad agency and persuaded the boy to stay and fight for his principles in the big city instead of running home to the security of a family business. Nor could these young housewives identify with a young minister, acting on his belief in defiance of convention. But they had no trouble at all identifying with a young man paralyzed at eighteen. ("I regained consciousness to discover that I could not move or even speak. I could wiggle only one finger of one hand." With help from faith and a psychiatrist, "I am now finding reasons to live as fully as possible.")[7]

Sean O'Faolain, in a lecture at Stanford in 1967, discussed "The Pleasures of Reading Fiction" in a hierarchical scheme; starting from the lowest, or most primitive, the first was the pleasure of finding out what happened; the second, the pleasure of identification. He told a story of his teaching experience at a midwestern college, where his colleagues warned him that the students were not very highly evolved in their appreciation of literature. He was inclined to discount their warning, but one day asked his class how many readers had identified with the eponymous heroine of Manon Lescaut, an eighteenth-century French girl who was being forced into a convent against her will. A chevalier fell in love with her and rescued her from her fate, but she was repeatedly unfaithful to him. Eventually she was deported to America, where her lover followed her. Only a few girls in Mr. O'Faolain's class raised their hands--the deficiency being explained by one girl who said, "You couldn't really identify with her; she was going out with two boys at once."

What limitations in their readers do magazine editors implicitly recognize when they choose characters and situations for readers to identify with?

The Marital Relationship Does Not Provide Much Food for Fantasy-Thought

Given that most of the readers of these magazines are married, it is interesting that only four of the stories have married couples as their central characters (2, 13, 14, 15). In only two of these stories, moreover, is the relationship between the husband and wife the focus of the story (13, 14). Both of these stories are in Redbook and in both the relationship is less than ideal. In the first of these the husband has just decided that he is "sick of being a meal ticket...and a repairer of a broken-down house," and that he will leave his wife and home. The second relates the musings or stream of consciousness of a young bride over her attempts to establish her new home and self and a shared life with her husband, who seems to float so easily out of her sphere and into the comradeship of his old friends.

The two other stories that have married couples as their chief characters are not centered on the marital life, shared or unshared, in itself. One (2) is actually a story about four parents and their married children, the mother of a new bride worrying that her daughter won't be able to cook the turkey for the Thanksgiving dinner she invited them to; the father of the groom worrying that his son won't know how to carve. The parents are able to reassure themselves about their success as parents. They assume that their children must be doing well ("Here was Bob, apparently able to handle himself, his wife, his home, his job, his school, and his life--and carve a turkey") in part because they watched their parents. "First Lady" (15) is a well-written, concise, ironic commentary that makes being a super-organized suburban clubwoman rather laughable--"the Jackie Kennedy of East Ridge," who upgrades the cultural style of her new suburb by a notch or so. Her husband, who now faces a "long commutation to and from work" and who "hadn't been so sure about making the step--choosing a town and building a house" seems to be the agent who maintains her in the life style she likes. An architect, he even built her dream house himself. At the party celebrating her installation as PTA president, she wanted to hire a band, but that was too expensive; he is in charge of changing the records. Every two weeks or so Dora gets into the city and has lunch with Al--"a fancy lunch somewhere, spending two hours holding hands between courses, drinking wine, feeling marvelous. Al was still quite happy with his wife's--and consequently his own--life."

Employment of Women in Fiction: Generally Irrelevant, Often a Bore, Occasionally a Disaster

These four stories discussed above are the only ones in which a heroine is an unemployed housewife. They account for all but one of the stories in which a major woman character does not have at least some kind of paid employment; the fifth concerns a single girl traveling in Sicily to escape memories of a broken romance (4). Two employed girls have jobs clearly of the stop-gap variety that they will give up when they marry at the end of the story; one is a secretary in a fabric house (7), the other a library clerk (11). Another employed girl worked in an office and as a companion for an elderly lady until she earned enough money to go to state college (8). Two of the employed women are widows who went to work after their husbands died. One has taken a dull job with unpleasant associations: "Her new job as cashier in the drugstore kept her busy (Ugh! that lunch-counter chili)" (9). The other "had spent the wartime years in Washington and the years immediately following in New York, working at a succession of 'interesting' and 'challenging' jobs..." (6). The author obviously does not think very highly of these jobs; later the widow does take up an occupation that the author can mention with approval: "Unlike a lot of the antique dealers in The Shades, Helen Connelly had a real shop, not just a junk emporium." Her work does not take her away from home, since the shop is part of the house. Only one incident occurs in the story in connection with her work, however, and it is certainly not very satisfying. Some elderly tourists show up at the end of the day to look at her antiques, and they leave without buying anything, having made her late starting dinner for herself and her child.

Three young women have jobs or professions that will last and/or that require commitment. One is a singer in a rock group, "the greatest natural singing voice in a generation," who threatens to quit the gimmicky rock group that both she and the songwriter are getting fed up with. Thus she encourages him to follow his inclinations and stick to songwriting, while she has intentions of continuing singing on her own. The two can thus make a team (5). Another is a child psychologist who has to face up to the fact that her fiance is psychotic and homicidal, she marries the detective who discovers that her fiance has been staging a series of murders (6). A third is a woman who stuck to teaching music in school although her husband objected violently that she was always banging around doing housework while he was trying to study for a Navy exam (10). This situation frequently led to arguments. In fact, it leads to the argument that causes their marriage to deteriorate markedly and that indirectly causes her husband's death.* The story gives so many reasons for these events in the history and personality of the characters, however, that the connection between the wife's work and disaster is more subliminal than obvious. This catastrophic view of a woman's employment is balanced by the endorsement of her interest in music *after* she is widowed. This is the only story that dwells at all on the intrinsic satisfactions of work outside the home. The story describes her playing the organ for Christmas services at the Navy base--"Now she was more than good; she was an artist"--and shows that playing gave her an avenue for profound emotional expression. "It was anger never to be recalled, hurt never to be explained. It was emotion translated to sound." Her playing has the effect of charming her young daughter, who is becoming more and more alienated (see plot summary, footnote, on preceding page), into a momentary, admiring closeness. The story does not state whether the widow will continue teaching music for pay in public schools.

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* The chain of events is as follows: Arguing about her teaching soon leads to angry words about the strains of Navy marriage. The wife declares she will be sleeping that night in the guest bedroom, and the husband, without realizing it, slaps her. She runs out of the house and spends the night in a motel. The husband, however, goes and looks for her at the house of what he thinks is an old friend. The old friend, learning thus that their marriage is in difficulty, finds all her desire to marry the husband reawakened (they had dated each other in the past). She deliberately makes it appear that the two of them are having an affair. The wife begins talking very definitely about divorce. The other woman maneuvers herself into being at the Navy game with the husband, who had gone to the game with a fellow-officer. Then, in the face of her invitation to spend the night in a hotel, the husband realizes he mustn't spend the night in the same city with her, since that would put him in a bad position to fight the divorce. Besides, he very much wants to get home and attempt a reconciliation with his wife. So he flies in a small plane in dangerous weather and gets killed. The widow is allowed to believe he flew in order to keep a date with his "lover." She is unable to grieve for a husband she was no longer close to; and this inability is the source of her progressive estrangement from her children.

In summary, no magazine has endorsed in its fiction the employment of married women. The only story that explicitly describes the satisfactions available in a sustained work-interest is the story summarized last (10); but in this story employment was the first though remote cause of the destruction of a marriage, the death of the husband, and a breakdown of intimacy and trust between a mother and her children. The singer and the psychologist, both single, come closest to being women engaged in a satisfying profession, but neither story describes the satisfactions of professional work. The singer's story is about her romance. The psychologist is not once shown engaged in her work, nor are her achievements even mentioned. She is once shown preparing to give a present to a patient. And she is once shown believing that her professional competence equips her to help her former fiance, now discovered to be a murderer. "I'm a psychologist, I understand these things, I can help him. Can't I help him? [she thinks to herself. The next sentence is:] Amy knew what she must do." But in fact she can't help him; all she manages to do is nearly get herself killed by him when she tries to use her professional knowledge to prove her fiance's insanity.

These several attitudes expressed in fiction toward women's employment are distributed throughout the several magazines, regardless of whether the magazine appeared progressive or conservative in its non-fiction.

The Romance of a Lifetime

Five stories (4, 5, 7, 8, 11) are devoted to the romances of single people--more stories than had married couples as their major characters, and more than twice as many as were devoted to the relationship between a husband and wife. These four stories all have "romance endings"; and, in addition, two other stories have sub-plots that allow the final words of the story to describe a couple falling in love (10) or enjoying their honeymoon (6). The story about the man who decided to leave his wife and children (13) also ends in this pattern, making a total of eight stories with the romance ending. The "romance ending" is one that leaves the couple falling in love, either explicitly married or planning to marry, or else with a definite "this is it" feeling. One is meant to accept this romance as the solution to any conflict in the story without asking what happened later. Will the husband who got fed up with his unglamorous wife adjust himself to a messy house and demanding children? Will he change his life somehow? Will he walk out again? We do not ask. The male and the female are united, and that is what counts.

(a) The Woman Initiates the Romance

In almost every case this romance results from female initiative. The girl traveling in Sicily introduces herself at the outdoor cafe to the poet who had been her hero during her college years (4). She does so even though she had been warned that he has completely withdrawn from the world and seeks contact with no one. Thus her making the initial contact is even more remarkable. The poet has become bitter because the world has grown "cold", "pragmatic," and incomprehensible; it has taken to writing poetry about maggots; and has called his poetry "horse and buggy plodding across the country in a jet age." In their first conversation she forces intimacy on him even when it becomes clear that she has touched on this "exposed nerve." Eventually she realizes that she loves him. She does not hesitate, but sends him a poem that describes her love and thus recalls him to the world.

In "One Unhappy Bachelor" (7) the young man is jaded by sexy playgirls, and so unmoved by the woman he has been seeing that he fears there is something wrong with him--that he will never be able to love. At a party he meets a girl who has sequestered herself in the library, reading one of the sea-adventure books she was "crazy about" when she was little. She is tomboyishly frank and admits that she came into the library because nobody was paying attention to her and she is "not much good at parties." She believes a person should, as she obviously does, face up to his weaknesses: "Otherwise, he's headed for all kinds of complexes." She encourages him to, as he says, "fish out his complexes and examine them." Thus she takes the initiative in revealing herself to him and encourages him to reciprocate (however superficial her confessions of failing as a party girl may seem, they impressed the man deeply.) When he is able for the first time in his life to drop the playboy role, he immediately falls in love with her.

Yet a third girl is able to help a man out of his psychological impasse. Ginny (10) understands almost at once that Jerry has always felt inferior to his brother. When he interrupts himself in the middle of a sentence, "Riding horses was the only sport I ever--" she is immediately able to complete it for him: "that you were better at than your brother?" In so doing, she is bold as well as insightful. By inviting him to go riding, she sets up an experience in which he can feel his own competence and take pleasure in his own life. It is she who observes his joy and leans out of her saddle: "'thanks for feeling the way I do,' she said, and lightly kissed him." These several instances of initiative on her part enable Jerry to "stop living his brother's life," a habit he had carried even to the point of pretending to himself that he was still carrying a torch for his brother's wife. (They had dated each other in the past and she, now widowed, entertains similar fantasies herself.) In the story Jerry has further occasions to assert himself and to take risks in decisive action during a crisis. By the end of the story he ought to be free to fall in love with Ginny. But he still resists doing so, until a slight push from his perceptive eight-year-old niece (yet more female initiative) leads him to recognize his emotions for what they are (love), change his travel plans and join Ginny on her plane to New York rather than take his own to California.

In these three stories the women have practically been therapists, exercising a curative role in freeing their men from long-standing, self-defeating patterns of character and behavior--one could almost call them neuroses. In three other stories the woman achieves a modified version of the same cure: she helps a man, whose problems are less severe and of shorter duration than those discussed above, to see what it is he really wants. In all cases what he really wants is to love her and live with her. In one case he is led to see that he wants to fullfill certain creative ambitions as well. Elizabeth (5) threatens to quit the rock group of which she is a member and reminds the hero of his ambition of a songwriter. They both believe that traveling on a heavy schedule with a group as successful as the Beatles, for example, is just a rat race. It isn't living; they can't even leave their hotel without bodyguards. The hero says they can't walk out on their engagements in Seattle, Vancouver, Acapulco, London, etc. But during her quiet, beautiful singing in the midst of an arena in pandemonium, he has that characteristic moment of insight in which he sees that they belong together. They embrace, planning to settle down in San Francisco, "a good town for a songwriter."

In this story the man has had a moment of insight that comes only in response to a crisis that the woman has precipitated. This pattern proves to be a recurring one. To give another example: a graduate student becomes involved with a librarian when she teases him and invites herself out to coffee with him (11)--par for the course with respect to female initiative; but there's more. Eventually it is established that they are unable to sleep with each other because his room is unavailable and a hotel room "too sordid"; then she invites him to spend Thanksgiving vacation with her while her roommate is away. The young man is reluctant to commit himself so far; he is still suffering from the pain of a previous romance that ended by the girl's leaving him for another man. His widowed mother fails him when she writes that she would not be too upset if he didn't come home for Thanksgiving; his sister is coming home and bringing a friend. The hero, then, must respond on every side to pressures applied by women: the rejecting female pulls him away from love, the new girl pulls him toward love, the mother fails to provide the one possible escape hatch. At a moment when it appears that the young man will go home to his mother, the girl cries. Later, alone, the man realizes that her tears mean she really loves him. He returns to her, saying he will stay with her. Or rather--not to be too risqué--they agree that they will celebrate Thanksgiving with an elderly librarian who invited them both to dinner, and at Christmas he will take her home with him. In this story the girl sets up the moment of truth by inviting the young man to her apartment, and secondarily, by being the first to drop their habitual bantering style and reveal her true emotions, however briefly, in tears.

If true love is often crystallized by a woman's skill at crisis precipitation, a special case of bringing about the "romance ending" can be discerned in the following example of womanly crisis management. When the husband mentioned earlier decides he will not put up with his home life a moment longer, his wife refuses to take him seriously. Nor does she sulk or accuse him; she changes his rebellion into one big farce by her humorous reaction. Putting on "a sexy sweater" for a change, she leaps into the car with the children and picks up her husband on the road, offering to drive him to the station while encouraging him to come home for a special breakfast of pancakes. He refuses, and she later shows up on the station platform with pancakes wrapped and tied with a blue ribbon. By the end of the morning, after a series of disconcerting contacts with fellow-passengers and strangers, he calls his wife to tell he loves her.

The preceding paragraphs have discussed six of eight stories with romance endings, those in which the romance was brought into being by female initiative. The exceptions to this pattern, both in Good Housekeeping, are also of interest. One "romance ending" is tacked on to a murder suspense story (6), in which the major characters have nothing to do with the romance. It is so incongruous that it is a surprise even to the new bride,eighteen years the junior of her husband:

> ...what made you pick me? I was sure you were going to marry Helen. I was going to join the Salvation Army or something. Then, out of nowhere that afternoon: "I think it's time to get married, Amy."

It occurs not because of female initiative but because the male knew what he wanted and asserted himself, despite fears of being rejected or thought silly because of age difference. "I love Amy Lawlor and I'm glad I was man enough to tell her." Amy, who had secretly returned his undeclared love, burst into delighted tears at his declaration.

The other exception to the rule also depends on a man who knows what he wants, but is obliged to pursue his lady very diligently. She is poor, illegitimate, then orphaned. She has to overcome her reaction to her suitor as a type, the type of boy who would date an orphanage girl as a "playmate, but nothing more"; and she has also to overcome her instinctive fear of his father. Like him, her own father was a rich, important man, who, of course, had hurt her mother deeply. After many persistent attentions over several months, despite the girl's being discouraging and almost rude, the rich boy finally arranges a confrontation in which he convinces her that "it's where you're going that's important, not where you've been." The girl can then become aware of her love and show it. The young man, like a therapist, has succeeded in unblocking the girl's emotions and having her "work through" an overdetermined reaction that stemmed from a childhood trauma. As we shall see below, education also played some part in freeing her of hypersensitivity about her social position.

It is perhaps significant that both cases in which romance follows from the man's initiative involve a disparity in status between the man and the woman-- of age in the first story and of socioeconomic position in the second.

(b) The Woman's Insight

It has been almost impossible to discuss female initiative in romance without discussing female insight; it seems helpful, however, to separate them analytically even though one may involve the other. As we might expect, womanly insight is not important in the romance stories where a woman does not have an initiating role. When the detective proposes to the psychologist there is no question of insight at all. But when the rich boy convinces the resisting orphan, it is his wisdom about the insignificance of social class and his sensitivity to her emotional needs that saves the day. He "roars" "so what?" to her suggestion that she is probably illegitimate, but is able to address himself more calmly to her other arguments. He points out that his father worked his way through college just as she is doing, that he's not as rich as she thinks anyway, and that "similarity of background" had not prevented her sending away a long-devoted suitor she had first met at the orphanage. And then of course, he is able to abandon argument for tenderness at the proper moment.

The woman's insight can consist of a very sharp insight into the character of a particular man; a firm view of what is really worth living for; or a settled, working philosophy about the way to get along in life. These virtues can exist singly or in combination. For example, when Jerry says he loves riding and then breaks off in the middle of the next sentence, Ginny is immediately able to complete it for him jokingly, supplying the missing fact that riding is the one sport at which he ever excelled his brother. True, her insight was made possible in part by the fact that she had prior acquaintance with his brother; but her putting two and two together is still remarkable, considering that she has just met Jerry and that this is the fourth sentence the couple has exchanged (10). Elizabeth (5), like the male songwriter, sees clearly that their professional life is a rat race; but, unlike him, is readier to assert that the money lost by breaking contracts is unimportant. She insists rather on the importance of his creative work. The girl who retreats from the party has a better idea than the playboy about how to live; complete frankness with oneself and others prevents complexes (7). The wife who is suddenly abandoned early in the morning seems to express by her behavior the knowledge that her husband is merely having a momentary fit that he can be cajoled out of. She does not comment on this knowledge explicitly, however; nor does the story reveal it by examining her thoughts, as some other stories do (13). In only one story of romance do hero and heroine have approximately equal degrees of insight. The girl working as a librarian understands just as well as the college student that he is running from her and badly wants his mother to provide an escape. Since the story is written from the man's point of view, it does not call on her to reveal as much self-understanding as does the young man (11).

Truly the most stunning case of female insight is that of the girl who meets her poet-hero, Gervas Gifford, in Sicily. Not only does she see that the poet badly needs sympathy and that they have both come to Sicily because they were rejected--he by critics, she by a man. She also knows that if she could "bring back even a small fragment in him of the man who had written the poems that had once stirred her so deeply," she might rediscover a "missing part" of herself, the capacity to love. The story describes, then, only two conversations she and the poet have (one being their first), and says that they had coffee together every morning and dinner one night. But the bulk of the story is taken up not with their intimacy but with her self-probing. She is constantly thrusting "pin pricks" into her memory, waiting for the pain of being abandoned to diminish. She knows how to achieve detachment--go to a foreign country, keep jogging your memory, analyze. She is familiar with the workings of her mind and knows how to manipulate them. When there is something she is trying to remember, she knows how to call it into consciousness: "In order not to force her memory and thereby scare the thought away permanently, she tried to think of something else." The result of her knowledgeable manipulation is that she finally deadens her pain and remembers a sonnet she had written in college, lines of which had been "haunting" her. It turns out to describe exactly the love she now realizes that she feels for Gifford. She copies the poem out for him; he is deeply touched--it is an "old-fashioned" poem of the sort he used to write. He comes out of his seclusion, recognizing that he also is in love. But in falling in love, he has been almost completely passive, always being acted upon.

This love has been brought into being almost entirely by the outreaching and by the inward creation of this girl. She manipulates her emotions until they reach a state in which she is ready to experience love. The moment she realizes she does love Gifford, she recalls her poem completely, thus finding that she has already, many years ago, described the unusual kind of love she now feels. She has re-formed her psyche, putting it in shape to love again; and she has made a man love her by means of the product of her imaginative creation, the poem. Such are the achievements possible to a women possessed of insight and similar powers of the mind.

(c) Love on the Rebound

The relatively detailed analysis of this story has raised a theme that can be said to occur in six out of the eight romance stories, the theme of being on the rebound from an unhappily ended romance. As noted above, Matt (11) is, like the girl in Sicily, conscious of the way his reactions are shaped by having been rejected by another girl. The psychologist who marries the detective (6) lost her love for her fiance when she learned he was a murderer; he died, later, trying to escape. The bachelor who falls in love after being taught to examine his complexes has just been through another disappointing and upsetting experience with another of the sexy girls who are always pursuing him (7).

The story of the orphan working her way through college constitutes this time not an exception but a variation: she has encouraged her long-time suitor (the fellow-orphan) to date other girls, since she is not sure she wants to marry him, and certainly not as soon as he wants to. She looses her final hold on him at a point where he has become interested in another girl, though he says he would still see her exclusively if she would only give the word. She gives him up at a time when, as far as she can tell, no other prospect is in sight, cutting herself adrift. Unlike the lovers who have been rejected, this girl is not utterly crushed; she feels a "stab of desolation" and asks the boy always to be her friend. But she knows she could not do otherwise: "What could she do when she wasn't sure? Hold on to Wayne for contingencies?"

The husband who runs away (13) is not literally rebuffed by a former lover, but he is sharply warned off by an elegant, attractive woman he sees in a park and who thinks he is molesting her child. His imagination is sufficiently caught by her for him to speculate that, unlike his wife, she "wouldn't be seen dead in curlers." Immediately afterwards, he calls his wife to make up. He is, psychodynamically, on the rebound.

The concept of rebound suggests an additional way these stories may satisfy married housewife readers, besides allowing them to relive the exciting experience of falling in love. It also reminds them of the insecurity and traumas that go with being unmarried. Each story leads them to re-imagine the moment that marriage becomes a certainty, reminds them that it was this moment they worked for, and demonstrates the value of marriage in relieving loneliness and the pain of being rejected.

Education for Women in Fiction: An Assist to Romance

In every case in which a woman's education is given more than passing mention ("I graduated from State College last year; I worked my way through as a waitress"--7), the education is directly associated with helping the girl get her man. Education is given such prominence in only three of the fifteen stories, however. The theme is carried out in a minor way even in the case of a high school girl who achieves the beginnings of intimacy with a boy by agreeing to discuss a Hamlet assignment with him (3). In two other stories the importance of education is developed more fully.

The girl staying in Sicily had first "become acquainted with the name" of the poet she was years later to fall in love with in a college course in American poetry. "In her own writing she had tried to imitate him. She had bought all of his books, read through poetry magazines avidly looking for his verse, memorized his poems as though they were religious creeds to be memorized for catechism class." It was as a result of this educational process that she wrote the poem that turned the poet's heart; without college, she would never even have heard of him.

For the poor girl (8), working her way through college brings her status nearer that of her Ivy League neighbor Bill, and also prepares her to overcome her fear of his father, since the father, like her, was once poor enough to have to work his way through school. In addition, a college experience enables her to confirm subjectively Bill's assertion that her social position is no handicap: "The thought struck Cammy unbidden: I was at ease in that melting pot of a dorm...." There Cammy found herself rooming with the daughter of the president of the company that her long-time boyfriend works for. (He, urged to date other girls, eventually becomes interested in the president's daughter and marries her, with Cammy as maid of honor.)

> The other two girls were just as different. Marge Fenimore was a psychology major, big, homely, and brilliant. She drew Cammy's story with a few shrewd questions, and discussed it without the least hint of patronage. For the first time, Cammy found herself able to accept honest sympathy.
>
> Cecily Powers /the fourth roommate/ was a freshman living in the dormitory the required year before she moved into her sorority. She was a pretty, well-gilded butterfly, delighting in clothes, sports cars, boy friends, and, as

> Marge put it, all the glory that was Greek....her gaiety was contagious. They drilled her before each exam: it would be tragic if Cecily flunked out and missed all the fun.

College neatly solves, or begins to, all the problems that might stand in the way of Cammy's marrying the rich boy next door. It mitigates some of her sensitivity about being illegitimate (or her sensitivity to sympathy); it gives her a chance to know the kind of sorority girl who might more easily be part of Bill's circle--like the people she had met earlier at his house, but whom she avoided:

> ...she was drawn into the circle of gay, handsome young people at the poolside. They were all friendly, and they asked the inevitable questions.
> "I'm a secretary at the utility company." She added, "Earning money for college," then wished she hadn't said it.
> "How wonderful of you," said one of the girls.
> "Not at all. Just necessary," said Cammy crisply.

She dives into the pool to make her escape and leaves the party shortly; thereafter "She always found an excuse to avoid any event at the club, or with the crowd." But at college she is given time to know a girl like one of these, and even be in a position to help her when she coaches her in schoolwork. Last, her college friendship with the president's daughter even provides a wife for Wayne. Cammy maintains an intimacy with them both, and need harbor no guilt feelings about Wayne's getting a raw deal. He now has a wife who, presumably, will not become restless and almost bored with him, as Cammy had long ago begun to be. For though the president's daughter is a prize coveted by any hardworking young man, this daughter has none of the tastes that had begun to set Cammy apart from Wayne. "I'm in Home Ec, " she says. "I like the practice; couldn't be more bored with the theory. Ah, well. It makes Dad happy, and it's something to do until I get married."

Cammy, by contrast, enjoys studying and even before college had already had more intellectual interests than Wayne. Bill shared them: Robert Frost, the film Doctor Zhivago ("with Wayne it would be bowling"), a new book, one-act plays, the summer symphony. And Wayne had never understood her desire for education:

> "I want you to marry me...And I just don't see any need for college. I don't want you to be a career woman. I'm going to make money enough..."
> "I know....It isn't so much a career I want; it's an education. Don't you see?"
> "Not really...."

Widows

When the fantasy of getting a husband is of such importance, it is not surprising that the fantasy of losing him also takes up much psychic energy. Whether the fantasy of widowhood expresses homicidal feelings toward the husband or the fear of abandonment that Helena Deutsch identifies as basic to the female personality, such a fantasy would probably be most prevalent among women whose life-space does not extend much beyond her marriage.

Fully three of the fifteen stories have widows as major characters, but only two are about widowhood itself. The third widow--actually widowed twice--has long passed her period of mourning and adjustment and is now of interest as the intended victim in a series of ghostly and sensational murders (6). (This story will be discussed more fully in the next section, which deals with stories having children as major characters.) All of these women are widowed young; they are not elderly women whose husbands have died in the normal course of events. In each story there is the suggestion, though very delicate or oblique, that they are still attractive to men or that there is a man around who could or does take an interest in them.

A widow is left all alone for Thanksgiving dinner when, because of illness, neither her parents nor the former neighbors, who have moved to another city, can come (9). The holiday is particularly poignant because she and her husband had their first date on Thanksgiving and he proposed to her a year later on the same day. The widow disciplines herself and goes ahead cooking the dinner, dresses nicely, puts her hair up, lights the candles. She is rewarded for her refusal to indulge in self-pity when who should show up but the new neighbors, days ahead of schedule. The young son comes over to her house to ask if he can use the swing between their yards; she invites his family to dinner when the boy tells her they are planning to have Thanksgiving dinner in a restaurant. But, surprise, it turns out that the boy has no mother--"it's only my dad and me." She goes over to extend her invitation in person so that the boy will not appear to have forced the invitation. She addresses her new neighbor: "And, as she spoke, even before he turned, the world was suddenly filled with a touch of magic."

A more difficult dilemma confronts a widow who has perfectly good reason to believe that her husband, a Navy pilot, was killed because he chose to fly in bad weather in order to keep a rendezvous with his lover (10--this story was discussed in some detail above). Their marriage had been going on the rocks for some months; she is unable to grieve for her dead husband, and her lack of grief causes a conflict of loyalties in her perceptive children, who begin to become estranged and almost to turn against her. Finally, "the other woman," an old girl friend, who had actually been trying to break up the marriage, confesses that the dead flier had never made love to her, and that he actually flew that night in dangerous conditions to get away from her and to return to his wife. The confession is made immediately following a crisis in which the widow's son has run away into a very stormy night when his older sister has put the idea of suicide into his head. After the child was discovered safe, "the other woman" told her story, which the widow had actually heard before, in a way that now forced her to believe it. Later, going through her husband's papers for the first time since his death, the widow finds a note he must have written on the morning he left the house, assuring her of his love, asking her forgiveness,and promising that he would return that evening without fail. Her love can then reassert itself and her grief can begin.

Thus her rapprochement with the children, who could have become completely estranged and emotionally hurt, is assured. It had already been set in motion, however, by the intervention of the masterful captain of the base. He, a widower who has taken a tender interest in both the children and the wife, tried to help the family when the boy ran away. He found himself involuntarily drawn into its private difficulties when one of the children bursts out, "She (the mother) doesn't care about Daddy being killed." The captain is able to convince the children that "some grief is too deep for tears," by describing his own feelings when his wife was killed.

During this period of trial the widow seems to have faced successfully many unpleasant facts about herself. When a flier was reported missing, she realized she didn't want him to come back alive. She no longer has to wonder whether she should have married her husband's brother instead of her husband, realizing that they had earlier dated each other out of insecurity. She has faced what she calls her lifelong insecurity stemming from "my parents' divorce...and knowing neither of them really wanted me." As a result, in her marriage, she always felt "unsureness" and a "fear of losing the one person" who really loved her. She seems well suited to face life on her own now, especially given her deeply satisfying work in music.

Children as Major Characters

To return now to the story involving the twice-widowed woman, Helen. She was married to a top-ranking West Point cadet who within a few months was torpedoed in the Second World War. She worked for some years; then her sister, apparently also widowed or for some other reason without a husband, asked for her help in raising her children. The sister, we are told, is an alcoholic and a manic-depressive who regularly disappears for days. Eventually she nearly burns the house down while she is drunk and it seems obvious that she must be committed to a mental instituion. She dies within twenty-four hours of being committed, bursting a blood vessel trying to escape.

Years later, the people instrumental in committing her begin to be killed off: the doctor who certified her incompetency, and her lover. It is clear that the helpful sister, Helen, is the next intended victim. A ten-year-old boy appears to be knowledgeable about and associated with the murders; he resembles the alcoholic woman's son, Michael, who always rebelled against Helen's care but who perished when he ran away into a snowstorm. Thus the story takes on the overtones of a ghost story until people begin to speculate that Michael did not die in the snow, but lives nearby and is using this ten-year-old boy to help him in his murders.

What is really happening, though, is that the other son, a child psychologist, is doing the murdering, and is using a mute child, one of his patients, to help stage the murders. This child is illegitimate, orphaned when his mother fell asleep smoking in bed, then raised by his unloving grandparents and so traumatized he became mute since the age of four. His history somewhat parallels that of the child psychologist; hence the psychologist's counter-transference. The child saves Helen's life when, for some unexplained reason, he snaps out of the hypnosis the psychologist has been using to rule the child's actions, and, as the psychologist is about to knife his aunt (Helen), jumps on his back pleading, "don't hurt, don't!"--thus also breaking his mutism of six years' standing.

This story's plot grows out of children's revenge on parental figures, and the damage parent-surrogates (more so than parents) can do to children. In one of his "Dr. Jekyll" moments the psychologist explains to his fiancee (also a psychologist) that he was very happy as a child, that though his mother was alcoholic and indiscreet in her relations with men, she always did take care of himself and his brother very well when she was at home. Aunt Helen, in sending the boys' mother to the mental hospital, became the "cause" of the psychologist's need to kill, as she was later to be its intended victim. Similarly, the mute boy was also much loved by his seventeen-year-old unmarried mother; but she, in becoming pregnant, had been "having her revenge on unloved parents...old, rich, prominent, and as heartless a pair as I've ever seen." The child "grew up in an atmosphere of seething hatred," and became mute when left to the mercies of his monstrous parent-substitutes. This story depends on some understanding of the damage that can be done to children by the people who raise them and of the child's or grown child's desire for revenge. But the murderous consequences take the story beyond the proportions of ordinary family life and the atmosphere of terror and improbability make this story a murder-suspense story with some psychological plot-gimmicks, rather than a confrontation with or a deep understanding of events that touch the reader closely.

Yet another story encompasses these themes of murder and the child's relationship with an adult other than the parent; but here it is the adult trying to murder the child (12). The boy is saved when his singing in Gaelic so touches the murderer's heart (an elderly psychopath) that he feels great remorse for his murders of other little boys and commits suicide. Thus the boy's innocent charm is the immediate cause of his safety. But the boy is also kept safe because his father is responsive to his needs: he can't really refuse to speak to such a kind-seeming old man when he sees him repeatedly, even though he is technically a stranger. So the father sets very careful limits on how the boy may behave with this stranger, and sees to it that the boy always has an older brother or sister with him.

The mother's place in this story is quite inconspicuous; unlike the father and the other children, she performs no role directly instrumental in saving her child, but she is able to assuage his anxiety when he sees that he has made "Mr. Martin" very upset by his singing. She is irrelevant to the essential plot of the story, saving the boy's life, but she does keep him from feeling bad. And this protection of the boy's psyche is in line with another objective set by the father: "To plant fear and distrust in the heart of a friendly child is wrong and could do lasting harm." Family cohesion, then, keeps the boy free from harm and even from worry.

A different kind of solidarity is celebrated in the story of the girl who decides that her grandfather's way of life is better than that of the teenage group most popular at her high school (3). Katie is an orphan who has been raised by her grandparents; only her grandfather is alive now. Her best friend Deb has been persuading Katie to come and live with her (she lives in her aunt's boarding house); but Katie has a moment of revelation in which she sees that the values of Deb and her group, who are about to go swimming in the nude (though the sexes will undress separately), are not for her. Deb is "gay and frantic, as if time were a wild horse galloping past and she had to grab it by the tail before it was gone"; while "to Pa life was not a rush and a grab and a gobbling of experiences. It was to be savored and sometimes endured."

A final story about the relation of a child with an adult other than the parent is Truman Capote's Thanksgiving reminiscence, apparently autobiographical to some degree though called fiction. It describes what it was like for a bright child to grow up during the Depression in rural Alabama, educating himself in spite of his school. It centers on the boy's bosom companionship with "Miss Sook," an elderly cousin regarded as simple. The central episode concerns Miss Sook's inviting the school bully to Thanksgiving dinner. At the dinner table "Buddy" denounces the bully for having stolen Miss Sook's cameo from the dressing-table in the bathroom; but Miss Sook covers up for the boy, who in in fact did steal it. Though Buddy probably does not fully accept Miss Sook's "love-thy-enemy" philosophy, he is forced at least to respect it on pragmatic grounds, since the bully thereafter leaves him alone. He does accept Miss Sook's judgement that he "planned to humiliate" his guest and her admonition that "there is only one unpardonable sin--*deliberate cruelty*."

In summary, all of the stories with children as major characters concern the child's relation with some adult other than the parent. In one story the child is a sort of victim being used to murder adults; in another he is the intended victim of an adult murderer, but he is saved by family watchfulness. Two stories dwell on the great warmth and rapport between a child and an elderly person, with the child subscribing to the adult's values.

STORIES NUMBERED AND LISTED BY MAGAZINE
(Magazines are listed in order of circulation,
highest first)

McCALL'S

(1) "The Thanksgiving Visitor," Truman Capote
(2) "Big Naked White Bird"

WOMAN'S DAY

(3) "The Wondering Day"

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

(4) "Such a Quiet Thing"
(5) "Good Morning, Dear Elizabeth"

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING

(6) "When Michael Calls"
(7) "One Unhappy Bachelor"
(8) "The True and Lasting Kind"
(9) "Touch of Magic"

REDBOOK

(10) "Survival Test"
(11) "Two Hearts, Vulnerable"
(12) "The Man on the Corner"
(13) "Exit, Pursued by Pancakes"
(14) "The Telephone"
(15) "First Lady"

V. FASHION MAGAZINES

If the homemaking magazines are written for women as wives and mothers, or as potential wives and mothers, the fashion magazines, by contrast, are interested in women as individuals, not as part of a family. *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* assume that a woman, whether married or not, wants to be almost stunningly attractive to men and wants to compare favorably with other competitive women.

This idea of womanhood is itself somewhat aggressive. Thus the fashion magazines do not project a traditional, passive female embedded in a family matrix, but a female conceived somewhat more as an individual--as a person who *at least* deserves to be looked at, paid attention to, in her own right. If these women are not quite expected to accomplish something on their own, they seem to be expected at least to "know what's going on," at least in art, especially in fashionable art. These seem to me to be the talents traditionally cultivated in upper-class women. Indeed, *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* do identify themselves with the social elite. *Harper's Bazaar* shares that class's felt responsibility to culture, and publishes only excellent fiction and poetry; it would clearly be out of place for this magazine to publish any fiction of mediocre quality addressed to the supposed fantasies of the American housewife. *Vogue* publishes neither fiction nor poetry, but it continually reports on the social life of America's elite, some of whose notable young women consent to model clothing for *Vogue's* pictures. This sort of feature consists of full-page pictures of these women, with a paragraph about their doings, and a paragraph about the clothing they're wearing--including where to buy it, and for how much. Other features discuss the woman herself at greater length but in the context of examining her style of living and photographing her home. Only rarely--chiefly in the once-a-year issue entitled "The American Woman"--are the achievements of any of these women considered interesting enough to discuss apart from questions of taste and style. The magazine gives the general impression of a group of young women writing about themselves for themselves.

One curious evidence of the fact that the fashion magazines regard "woman" less as a passive being and more as an agent doing is the riot of dynamism contained in the words (largely in the adjectives) describing fashions in *Harper's Bazaar*: *a feminine sweep*, *swinging*, *varied*, *sweeping*... *wider and wider*, *larger than life*, *very affirmative* (this of a belt), *raceaway*, *shot with light*, *spangled*, *well-heeled*, *careless*, *cleanly etched*, *boldly*, *rugged*, *unconventional*, *supple*, *free-play*, *zip-in*, *step-out*, *uninhibited*, *stalky*, *long-legged*, *dashing*, *crisp*, *zipped and ringed*, *crunching*, *brash*, *young*, *smacked*, *sliced*, *merry*, *skiffy*, *skinny*, *red without hesitation*, *brisk*, *flirtatious*, *escaping*, *laden with adult appeal*, *twinkle*, *chased down the side*, *wickedly plunged*, *dipping*, *sportif*, *nips*, *larky*, *flipping*, *unexpected flashes of skin*--etc., etc.-- perhaps we might stop with "*going-all-night, fresh young black: a whizout of a dress*."

The issue of Vogue studied besides its photographs of clothing, mostly couture, contains an article on the food fetishes of various gourmets; a paragraph about the coronation of Farah as Empress of Iran; six paragraphs about a young British playwright; and a look at the life of "T.R.H. Prince and Princess Moritz of Hesse," with photographs of their home, "Schloss Fasanerie." Though Vogue carries no fiction, this month's "Beauty Bulletin" ought to cater to a number of women's fantasies as it publishes the thoughts of "several beauties" on the nature and importance of privacy.

> The beautifying private life of Mrs. Bruno de Pagliai in Acapulco takes place in a pink marble dressing room and bath with great glass-to-the-floor windows that frame a view of Acapulco Bay. Here there's one hour of yoga each morning, Merle Oberon de Pagliai dressed in the loosest, sheerest pink and lavender caftan. The dusky hair that flows to her waistline is brushed for 45 minutes, and this ancient Aztec formula is prepared: The juice of one lemon is squeezed into a freshly-cleaned pink and green mother-of-pearl abalone shell. Sealed tight overnight, it turns white and foamy. It dries on the face like a masque; "fantastic for blemish-removal and general skin invigoration"... Marchesa Delia di Bagno, for skin therapy, has installed an ozone conditioner in the bathroom on her yacht. On entering her bathroom, one has a delicious feeling of St. Moritz and the mountains."

The clothing photographed in Harper's Bazaar is usually more uniformly haute couture or higher priced than that in Vogue. "A bulletin from Our European Beauty Spy" reports on "aromatherapie," or a massage with oils prescribed to an individual's health, medical history, and skin condition. Its aim is to improve appearance and rejuvenate the body. In the words of Mme Maury, developer of the therapy, "We are not trying to add years to a life but to add life to the years: to achieve a state of youthful maturity in which we realize our entire capacity to work, no matter what our age should happen to be." It is interesting that attaining beauty is connected here with the "capacity to work." When they do not positively make a job out of being beautiful, the fashion magazines, especially Vogue, do often connect beauty and discipline. In the two most recent issues of Vogue entitled "The American Woman," (May, 1967, and May, 1968) we find:

> You have to get up earlier in the morning if you mean to do the daily exerciese that are the basis of good muscle tone...You have to get up earlier in the morning if you want to find time...to put on a better make-up...

> You have to get up earlier in the morning if you're going to make a bath a beauty bath... You have to get to the hairdresser earlier if you want to make time for a conditioning treatment; for nails to dry to a hard polish; for the working out of a special hairpiece...And you even have to get up earlier in the morning to take advantage of the time saving beauty helps that exist, After all, it takes time to use the speedy little electrical massage gadget, the handy electronic facial exerciser, the accelerated permanent-waver, the hair-colouring swiftie, the crash-program exercise devices..." (1967, p. 229)

May, 1968's "Beauty Register" discusses the beauty practices of seven American women in connection with their professional or other demanding activity. Words denoting thoughtful effort and adventuresome creativity describe what these women do to enhance their beauty: "They study, they explore, they discover, they edit. Then they make beauty decisions which captivate their audience." Their approach to beauty is shown to be merely one reflection of their total character or approach to life: outreaching, dynamic, decisive, and appreciative of their femininity. These women include Olympic gold-medalist figure-skater Peggy Fleming, an interior decorator, Faye Dunaway of Bonnie and Clyde, and a Smith graduate who works in New York advertising. The three other women "dossiered" by Vogue apparently have no professional employment, but lead lives of accomplishment: Senator John Sherman Cooper's wife, who does write a column for Kentucky newspapers about Washington; a grandmother who is on the board of a cancer foundation; and a Fifth Avenue-Southampton mother of two young sons.

Another beauty article in Harper's Bazaar discusses "Choosing the Right Plastic Surgeon"--one who will discuss your fears about face-lifting. It tells you where the scars will be; how long you won't want to be seen by anyone after the operation; and how much you'll pay ("no more than the cost of just one fabulous ball dress"--$1000 to $3000).

The arts are represented by a one-page story by Isaac Babel, a two-page review of a showing of Picasso's sculpture, an article about the late Frank O'Hara by one of his friends, some of O'Hara's poems, and a song lyric by Bob Dylan.

We must balance the impression, however, that Harper's Bazaar has exclusively in mind a socialite, perhaps dilettantishly artistic woman, by noting that this issue contains an article about computers by N.S. Sutherland of Sussex University, "a leading representative of the mechanistic school." (Apparently in science as well as in art the reader is expected to know what the various schools are.) This article seems surprisingly crude in that it can imagine a stupendously evolved technology, in the presence of which man manages to continue existing, yet without a corresponding evolution of human consciousness. One can almost imagine that it was included as a shocker or a teaser. The author details current problems in computer-programming and in the theoretical exploration of computers' capacities. Then, citing the inherent limitations of the human brain (as presently conceived) and the information-processing speed of computers (a thousand times faster than the brain's speed), he makes a series of speculative predictions.

> ...there seems no doubt we shall eventually be able to build machines which think much more efficiently than we do and which will behave in ways that at the moment we would describe as human...
>
> Moreover in the evolutionary process the main criterion for what organisms will be produced is survival value. Many of the undesirable features of human beings arise through the rigid application of this criterion by nature. In particular our own selfishness and much of our irrationality come from this. There is no reason why we should build personal survival or even propagation of the species into computers as an overriding goal. Computers will also be able to advise us on much more trivial and personal matters.. .it may be possible to keep the...computer informed about one's life and tastes and to allow it to help with personal decisions.
>
> Computers are likely to replace scientists as well as teachers, doctors and lawyers...
>
> Even government decisions may...be more efficiently reached by computer than by ourselves. This opens up a prospect not altogether pleasing to human vanity. A time is in sight when all the most important intellectual work and the most far-reaching decisions are taken by our own artifacts...If we are sensible we may even build into computers some sentimentality for the past, so that we shall be retained as interesting pets."

One reader of this paper suggested that the reason this article appealed to Bazaar editors is that in a world such as the article describes, fashion may take on importance as one of the few pursuits remaining to man, and everyone will become, like the women in Bazaar's pages, interesting and extremely well-dressed pets.

VI. MAGAZINES FOR SINGLE YOUNG WOMEN
MADEMOISELLE, GLAMOUR, AND COSMOPOLITAN

Identity-Definition and Achievement in Mademoiselle

One of the articles in Mademoiselle happens to deal directly (in passing) with women's magazines. "An Opinion: Rex Reed on the New Journalism," states:

> Writers who aim at the fantasy level of the American public are out of business. Would you buy a magazine whose cover announces, 'Should Wives Confide in Friends?' or the one next to it which blasts, 'Stokely Carmichael on Black Power: "The U.S. is going to fall. I only hope I live to see the day!"?' *

Mr. Reed must be aware that thousands of women's (homemaking) magazines are sold because they do write about confiding in friends. Doesn't he seem to be challenging the young woman reader to say that this kind of magazine has nothing to do with her? At the same time, he feels that the new journalism has nothing to do with the old; it is written by young, "hip" people who refuse to follow the time-honored pattern of working your way up from copy-boy on the New York Times:

> Bright young kids are moving in everywhere. Barbara Long, a pretty ex-Douglas coed, is revolutionizing boxing with her jazzy sports coverage in The Village Voice...Richard Goldstein, a Mod hippie,..is hacking away at the pop-music world in The New York Times...The most incisive ...levelheaded political coverage of Vietnam... has been written not by a seasoned old reporter from Eisenhower's staff...but by--get this--a ravishingly beautiful, jeep-driving, 26-year-old New York socialite and '62 Radcliffe graduate named Frankie Fitzgerald. And it has appeared not in the Washington Post, but in Vogue. Things are looking up for all of us.

Now it is true that admirable cultural changes are taking place, that the young are initiating some, and that they may be doing it in journalism as well as elsewhere. But Mr. Reed attempts to substantiate his mystique of young "doers" by differentiating them as strenuously as possible from the preceding generation. Just as he scorns any girl giving a second glance to the magazine like those written for her mother, he creates, in rhetoric, the stick figures of an older generation that couldn't possibly understand any journalism of the new:

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[*] Mademoiselle, incidentally, did have an article on black power in February, 1968. The article on confiding was published in Redbook.

> Years ago, the afternoon paper was sacred. A floppy cocker would carry it in his wet little mouth to the Daddy of the house, who would then lose himself in its pages until dinner-time. Only later, when he finished the Dow Jones averages *and* the sports, could Mom clip the patterns and turn to Dorothy Dix or could the kids dash off to their rooms with Nancy and Sluggo.

Mr. Reed substantiates his view of the past by saying, "That's the way it was in my house." Perhaps solipsism is the vice of the new journalism, whatever its virtues.

Curiously enough, the ostensible main point of this article was to describe the new journalism, to detail how "The only way I know how to write about anything is to tell what I see, hear, smell, taste, feel. Most of the good writers I know write this way." He cites as examples his refusal to glamorize, as did the old fan magazines, the Hollywood celebrities he interviews. And yet this article has all the faults of what one wishes by now *were* the old journalism: Mr. Reed sees a few facts, arranges them into a trend, and extrapolates the details to suit his case. In addition to the examples cited, he posits an audience liberated from the tyranny of old, deceptive journalism by television:

> ...I am talking about the *new awareness* on the part of a wildly enlightened public, which demands candor in print and refuses to settle for anything less...Dagwood is out, flower power is in...The printed word competes with television. American families...can now watch their own President murdered...or see that nice Smith boy from down the block shot down by snipers in the Mekong delta without missing a spoonful of Fruit Loops [*sic*].
>
> This is a very hip time we live in...Housewives know all about smoking pot. [emphasis in text]

New awareness to the contrary, seeing does not make a viewer wildly enlightened. Why does Mr. Reed choose not to recognize that programs about flower power and smoking pot appeal to "the fantasy level" as much as the forms he finds outmoded? Here it seems that *Mademoiselle* has been seduced by an article whose view of youth they agree with, but which is sloppily thought out. Its style of writing, however, is not unfashionable.

Another article written by ayoung person also tries to define where her culture has been and where it's going, and it succeeds beautifully. It is "Getting to Know the Noh," by Nobuko Uenishi, a Japanese girl of the generation known as "après-guerre brats." She relates her experiences as the interpreter for a Japanese master teaching a New York dancing group the basics of Noh in six weeks. With vivid honesty, her personal narrative conveys the moments of revelation when the Noh tradition came alive for her. The reader feels, too, her efforts to win from and give to the Master a proper degree of respect; though respect is balanced by her recognition that the master's devotion to the "lifelong, no, longer-than-life discipline" of Noh has warped if not atrophied his capacity for sympathy, intimacy, or tolerance of other cultures. Apart from his work, his life seems ruled by the supply of sleeping pills and whiskey. This article demands quite a lot of the reader; it teaches something about Noh drama, markedly different from Western drama in what it expects from actor and audience, at the same time that it requires understanding of some very complicated emotions.

College and Careers

Two Mademoiselle articles under the section "College and Careers" describe new-wave drama programs at drama schools and universities, and back-stage jobs for women. The second article is a simple, straightforward listing of all the non-acting jobs from director down to costume designer. It notes the special satisfaction and frustrations of each position, tells how to accumulate experience that can lead to a paying job, and gives information on unions. The author does cite the difficulties of being a woman director--too few women like to give orders or can give them effectively--but even in the positions where women are rare, the author always interviews a woman in the position, even if it means hunting up one of the "ten women in this country who are full-fledged stage managers."

The article on studying drama notes a more serious commitment to the performing arts on many campuses and their new dedication in training both artists and audiences for "a growing regional-theatre movement." This article also discusses in a practical way the different experiences a girl would have in a commercial acting school and in a drama program at a university. Moving from general, structural questions to the specific, the article describes improvisation-games at New York University Drama School and attempts to get at the spirit of the new drama: "'Fun' is the commonly used word for the tone of the new university-theatre movement. 'Joyousness' is preferred by the Yale School of Drama's new dean, Robert Brustein." The article records one of Stella Adler's acting classes at Yale and classes in body movement and voice at New York University.

Imaginative Literature in Mademoiselle

Although Mademoiselle usually publishes short stories, this month it contains a play that presents quite a contrast to the fiction published in homemaking magazines. Elaine May's "Not Enough Rope" concerns three inmates of a boarding house. A young woman, Edith, accosts a new boarder, Claude, with a request for rope to hang herself with. The young man has only some twine, but this he gives her. This first encounter takes the form of a lengthy, joking conversation. Different ways of using language form an important element of their uncommunicative talk. By turns they take their own metaphorical and/or joking language literally, in the manner of schizophrenics. Edith announces she has "a thing" about not using the same word twice in the same sentence, and Claude keeps insisting that she breaks this rule of hers continually.

Once she has her twine, Edith sets up the apparatus for hanging herself, but takes so long about it that the phonograph, which must be playing while she kills herself, runs out of record. She is tied by the neck to a ceiling pipe and cannot move. She yells for someone to come in and reset the phonograph. The new boarder comes to her door; but it is locked, and he is unwilling to force it. During this conversation Edith reveals that she had decided the day before to ask the new boarder for rope, and that if he did give her rope, she would take it as a sign that she was to kill herself; if not, then not. Edith suddenly realizes that Claude gave her twine, not rope, and that she oughtn't to kill herself. She worries that if she were to hang herself accidently, by losing her balance, God might think she had done it on purpose and without justification of a Sign. She would then be condemned to live forever in "this special place for suicides that's like a long dark hallway...only it goes on forever and nobody passes you and I just..." [ellipses in text] (This place sounds like a description of the stage-set of the boarding house.) She tries to persuade the new boarder to get her down, or to phone her mother for help, but he goes into his room; he has to practice his drums.

His drums awaken the other boarder present, an 80-year-old woman who sleeps as much as she can so that she will be asleep when she dies. She is much more concerned with trying to get the new boarder to stop practicing his drums than with helping Edith, who continues to call for help through her locked door. This situation ends when

> OLD LADY: (suddenly alert): Oh! (she inhales and exhales...very excited.) I've got to get back to my room and get to sleep. I have a terrible pain. Oh, this may be it! Oh, dear...(She wheels herself briskly down the hall...(She passes CLAUDE'S door and peeks in.) Would you come up and sit with me until I die? It will only take a minute. CLAUDE: No. I have to move out of here and practice. I

> have my own things--and I do them. Everyone in this house is dying, because they don't have their own things. [ellipses in text]

Edith is singing "Yes, We Have No Bananas" when Claude breaks into her room and cuts her down in order to repossess the twine to tie up his belongings. Though Edith tries to claim that they now have a special relationship ("You can't go! You cut me down."), and tries to keep him back by insisting that he is stealing her twine and has broken her door and must fix it, he punches her to stop her pestering him and then leaves. She wanders into her room and

> turns on the phonograph. It is a recording of Jimmy Durante singing "Inka-dinka-doo"...She goes over to the old lady, who is lying in bed with her eyes closed, says her name, and touches her on the shoulder. The old lady does not respond. EDITH gets into bed with her, lies down and pulls the covers up. She is singing "Inka-dinka-doo" to herself and snuffling. She sings and snuffles until the lights fade out. CURTAIN [my ellipses]

The point of outlining and discussing this play is simply to show that it bears no relation to the more or less formula-written stories in the women's magazines, several of which were analyzed above. "Not Enough Rope" is set in a sort of necropolis where, for the two permanent residents, all the activities of life are directed to preparing their death. The transient, who escapes at least this form of insanity, pursues what seems to him a demanding occupation. But, according to the stage directions, "He plays in no recognizable style and it is obvious that he is following some erratic rhythm in his own head." (The description of dramatis personae stated, "He plays the drums in such a way that the actor playing him need not know how to play drums.") In other words, he is a man who feels himself to be intensely involved with a demanding, intrinsically meaningful life, but who "does his thing" in a way that isolates him from any putative culture and from what we would recognize as compelling human demands. He seems "inhuman" in his unconcern. But, since the play apparently has no moral center--[10] no character (or narrator) whose judgments are to be taken as a touchstone--

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[10] In this very basic way the play differs from the stories in the homemaker magazines, where the "moral" of the story or the author's judgment about right and wrong, or admirable or successful behavior, is virtually always clear. Exceptions are "First Lady," where it is not necessarily 100% clear whether the main character, a hyperactive suburban "club-woman," is being ridiculed or praised; and "The Telephone," where judgment of behavior--mostly thought or daydream--does not seem to be at issue. Both of these stories are in Redbook.

a reader is just as free to believe that Claude is superior to Edith and the old lady, and was right in being unconcerned about Edith's apparent wish to die. What would have been the point of saving her? Indeed, the author may suggest, by her title, that she invites or allows this point of view.

Mademoiselle's View of Women

This play is of a quality in keeping with the aim of Mademoiselle's editor-in-chief, to publish

> a magazine dedicated to the young college-educated woman between eighteen and thirty who shared her own wide interests. These interests include everything from fashion to fiction, grooming to sound vocational advice, philosophy and art to entertainment and travel. Mrs. Blackwell understood from the beginning that a mazagine for the young should open its pages to the young. Mademoiselle's * encouragement of young talent followed from this.

Mademoiselle does encourage unknowns, and it encourages women. In this case, of course, the writer of this play is a very well-known creative woman. Women also authored the pieces on modern American drama and on interpreting for the Noh master. Thus, creative expression, intellectual depth, self-insight, and hard work are portrayed as admirable qualities for women to exercise. The article on contemporary journalism, written by a young man, stated explicitly that "The marvelous thing about the new journalism is that there is a lot of space and not too many good writers to fill it, so if you are any good at all your chance eventually arrives."

This image of woman's place in the world is certainly present in many important articles in Mademoiselle. But other articles project another aspect of young womanhood: the world of social know-how and the ski world "where men outnumber women better than six to four" and "the median age of skiers over 12 is 26.2 years, more than half of them single, college educated..." An article on giving and going to parties suggests how intellectual activity can be a means to the end: "check your wardrobe, your makeup, your perfume, and read that book everyone's been talking about." An article advising the non-skier how to succeed at ski resorts recommends: "Outdoors, establish a sunny beachhead in the middle of a deck-chair row (it's death to dangle at the end). Carry a paperback: Games People Play makes better conversation than Valley of the Dolls." Another article tries to help the

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* Foreword, 40 Best Stories from Mademoiselle 1935-1960. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960.

neophyte through her first dinner alone with a man in her first apartment:

> You think that this will be your first triumph of gracious living, the first time you prove to yourself that an ex-teenager can blossom into a gracious, poised hostess. He thinks than an invitation to a girl's apartment means it's a sure thing he can get her into bed. Overcoming this basic disparity is actually the real business of the evening.

The article specifically admonishes that "when you first start out in your own apartment, your taste isn't really original and in fact is guaranteed to embarrass you five years later." It warns explicitly that a guest will not be thrilled at having to make conversation for the nth time over Bogie, bullfight, psychedelic, or W.C. Fields posters; or over Tolkien and Kahlil Gibran: nor at having to eat Dad's special cherry pie and exotic entrees like Hot Root Beer Soup.

An article on Western ski areas seems to cite with approval the girl who succeeds in an exploitative relationship with men: "'If you put yourself out a bit,' says Pat, 'you needn't spend very much. I mean when you're walking around and a guy smiles, smile back. There's one girl who was here last year from January on and she never spent a dime!'" And, finally, there are the numerous fashion pages that educate young women to their consumership roles.

In the past, discussion about modern women has often polarized career vs. marriage, or the life of intellect and work vs. getting a man. Someone in this tradition looking at Mademoiselle might well say that the magazine presents a glamorous image of the first life style, and then sabotages it by giving training in the kind of social behavior that continues the relation between men and women as a relation between superiors and inferiors. This may be true. But in the eyes of Mademoiselle's editors, these two aspects of a woman's life are not contradictory, but fully congruent. They believe that a life of verve and accomplishment makes a woman more interesting to the more interesting men; they would discourage the life style wherein a woman gets her man and high status by not achieving.

When the homemaker-magazines write about what actually is called "the outside world," they seem to be writing for the woman at home who is "keeping herself informed." Mademoiselle, writing about the same world, expects its readers to be active in it. I doubt that they expect this participatory stance to dissipate even when the young woman's life is complicated by marriage and children. In this respect Mademoiselle would be more like Vogue than like the homemaker-magazines.

Vogue, in its 1968 issue on "The American Woman," featured as "A Great American Family" the three generations that include Mrs. Malcolm E. Peabody, arrested in a civil rights demonstration in 1964 while her son was governor of Massachusetts; Marietta Tree, well known for her work in the U.N.; her daughters, the Frances Fitzgerald mentioned earlier for her reporting on Vietnam (she is now writing a book on Vietnam for Atlantic, Little-Brown); and Penelope Tree, Vogue's favorite debutante, who left Sarah Lawrence to do some modeling in Vogue and other publications, and who submits her fiction to Truman Capote for criticism. There is a crucial difference between Mademoiselle and Vogue, though, in that Mademoiselle is interested in any young people of accomplishment, while Vogue concentrates on the fashionable upper-class elite.

Glamour's view of women is very close to Mademoiselle's; but,calling itself "the 'How To' fashion magazine for young women," it emphasizes more than Mademoiselle specific advice about clothing and make-up. Its features are less likely to report on some matter of purely cultural or intellectual interest to college-educated girls, and more likely to focus on personal problems-- self-image, self-insight, improving the impression one makes on others, and problems in relations with others.

The issue under study includes an article that takes off from the currency of Zefferelli's film of "Romeo and Juliet" to analyze the eternal appeal of the lovers' protest against "the Establishment" when they fall in love with a person of "in effect the wrong creed and color."

> As they both grow up fast, though, they realize that their conditioning is a put-on, that the names that awe them are scare-words, propaganda, a kind of paranoiac nationalist device the families use to keep the blood-feud going, and such a device can have nothing to do with them personally. This is something a lot of people have been finding out for a long time. Probably what has made the story last is the fact that hope springs eternal from adolescents' discovery that their parents are as crazy as jaybirds.

The article celebrates youth's ability to "put the pressure on any authority that sets rules contrary to the facts of life"; but this position does not involve praise for flower power.

> The new Juliet knows the world belongs to her as much as it belongs to monsters and rich old stiffs, or, for that matter, poor loud-mouthed young stiffs. Unlike some cop-outs who think the Establishment is so huge and hopelessly sick it can't be changed or coped with, and don't even much care whether their lives have an effect on it one way or the other, or pseudo-hippies who don't even know what they're so sore about but just like the action, she does not retreat into a formerly safe girl-state, or yell and run, nor does she propose a huge formless flower-filled love-basket as a kind of gigantic international tranquilizer.

Another article advises how girls can help the men they know returning from Vietnam re-enter civilian life. Glamour interviewed an unspecified number of men who had been back from Vietnam at least a year, all of whom found that "coming home was not easy-- that it involved wrestling with their old sense of values and their old interpretations of 'meaning.'" Problems include readjusting to a world where life doesn't hang in the balance, "where people actually worry about what to wear to a dinner party"; learning to make even simple decisions again; being able to plan ahead; relinquishing the super-idealized image of life at home that had been formed during the service; and coping with "'a rather uneasy guilt that I am alive and safe at home when so many of my buddies never made it.'" Girls are advised mainly to be patient and forbearing; above all, not to impose their own ideas of what a man ought to do with his life now that he's back.

Like Mademoiselle, Glamour has short, regular features on college and careers. This issue of Glamour discusses the increased emphasis in colleges on practicing, rather than studying, the arts. It briefly publicizes a Sarah Lawrence student with plans to be a "pop singer"; a new guide to graduate study; and Grinnell College, with special emphasis on its off-campus study programs and politically active student body. "Glamour on the Job" investigates the Harvard Business School Master's Degree Program and draws a profile of its women graduates. The article warns that a girl should not go to business school because she doesn't know what else to do. It advises that an MBA, with its "prestige" and "mark of serious intent," opens up jobs and salaries that wouldn't be available otherwise, and allows greater mobility and flexibility-- including easier re-entry into business after a woman has taken time out to establish a family. The article finds that salary discrimination against women still exists, but that women are partly to blame for not entering business: "the male population between the ages of 35 and 45 (the reservoir for middle-management personnel) is declining steadily and will continue to do so until 1974"; while industry and commerce continue to grow-- thus "whatever prejudice there is against women must fall before the need to fill the responsible jobs in the business world."

As for the other side of the magazine, that concerned with personal appearance, this issue reports on Glamour's contract to "make over" 50 employees of Dayton's department store in Minneapolis, redoing their hair and make-up and photographing them in carefully selected clothing. A couple of quotations can best indicate Glamour's approach and the kind of reception they get.

> Let's face it, New York is written all over us, and before we can do anything we have to erase the distance between us and the rest of the U.S.A.-- whether it's north, south, east or west. We have to make people trust us, and that trust usually begins after they see the first finished make-over-- a girl they've known all their lives, a little duck suddenly turned into a swan. It's marvelous-- but the swan has to be able to fit in her own pond and be herself-- not a copy of a Glamour editor or model. That's what makes the business of every make-over

> different from every other make-over. The editors have to find exactly what is unique in each girl's look, and some girls have an uncanny ability, like some neurotics, to disguise what is individually best in their appearance, to create impressions that are not at all true about themselves. It's the make-over editor's job to see through these disguises, rather like a psychiatrist, and show the make-over a new self that she can really believe in and continue to be. Sometimes, the editors make mistakes, follow a wrong look to the end before realizing it's not at all right for the particular girl.

The president of ayton's commented:

> Nobody wants to have just get-by looks or live in get-by houses anymore. Everybody wants to excel, everybody wants to be an individual. Individuality is the new personality of the times, it's the opposite of the depression attitude. That's why we want *Glamour* here to do make-overs. You aren't just get-by people, neither are we.

Cosmopolitan: Self-Improvement

One might say that *Cosmopolitan* does the same thing that *Mademoiselle* does-- it encourages young women to accomplish something, and it tells them how to get a man-- except that it does it for a less well-educated audience, and subordinates nearly every topic to the topic of sex. *Mademoiselle* may tell a girl to read a book so that she can converse well with a man, but it does recognize that interests and activities can achieve functional autonomy. In *Cosmopolitan* a girl may be advised to do anything to get a man-- politics, karate-- and getting a man is the place all roads lead to. "Cosmo's" monolithic editorial policy is the brainchild of its new editor, Helen Gurley Brown. She must be doing something right, because she increased *Cosmopolitan*'s circulation 16%[8] in the first three years of her editorship (to more than 900,000). *Cosmopolitan*'s needs were outlined for *Writer's Yearbook '67* in this way:

> *Cosmopolitan* is now directed toward the young career woman, married or single, who leads a life of her own. "We want short stories dealing with adult subject matter which would interest a sophisticated audience, primarily female, 18 to 34... We prefer serious, quality fiction or light tongue-in-cheek stories and they can be on any subject as long as they are done in good taste. We love stories dealing with contemporary man-woman relationships. Short shorts are okay but we prefer them to have snap or "trick" endings. The formula story, the soap opera, skimpy mood pieces or character sketches are not for us. A happy ending isn't

> mandatory, but the story shouldn't be lugubrious or too depressing...In articles, we want pieces that tell a hip, attractive 18-34-year-old intelligent good-citizen girl how to have a more rewarding life--how-to pieces, self-improvement pieces as well as articles which deal with more serious matters. We'd be interested in articles on careers, part-time jobs, diets, food, fashion, men, the entertainment world, emotions, money, medicine and fabulous characters."

Let us look at some of the articles that tell a girl "how to have a more rewarding life." "How Long Can He Stay Sexually in Love with You?" attempts to set a woman straight on the problem of wandering husbands and diminishing eroticism in marriage.

> Let's begin by taking the D. H. Lawrence mysticism out of this. Lawrence's chief tenet seems to be that the orgasm creates love...."We know today that this is nonsense," says Dr. Ernest van den Haag, a practicing psychoanalyst and member of...New York University and the New School for Social Research. "In a woman, the orgasm follows love."

The article notes that the interests of man and woman in forming a marriage are different, though reconcilable; woman, following "nature's inexorable command," wants children; "the man wants sex...the command built into the male biology is to impregnate as many females as possible-- another natural device to give the race the greatest possible chance for survival (no matter what the individual cost)." In the bargain that is marriage, in which the man agrees to provide economic security for the raising of children and the woman agrees to provide sexual pleasure, the woman, as time goes on, has a harder time of holding up her end of the agreement; but the fault is not hers. (So the argument goes. And it continues:) Rather, as one can see from Kinsey's statistics, "the most profound study of human sexuality that we have available" (the author quotes a New York psychiatrist), the human male has his strongest sexual drive in his late teens and experiences thereafter "a low, slow, steady decline in male sexual desire and activity." The female reaches "full stride" between 25 and 35 and apparently experiences no decline in drive for the rest of her life.

The husband of 30 or 40, no longer sexually aroused, is likely to blame his wife for not living up to her side of the bargain. Since "there is nothing more aphrodisiac for a man than a new woman...Every man knows this," the disappointed husband is likely to try one or more new women. A wife can counter these results of the "inexorable descent of the Kinsey curve" only by herself becoming _inwardly_ a new woman. It may help to have a second honeymoon--to leave behind "job, children, mortgage" and regain the freedom from responsibilities husband and wife last had "before they were married." But when the second honeymoon is over, a woman had better have a new life plan available. The article cites one woman who resumed her fashion career (with her children grown, she hadn't anything to talk to her husband about). But "to introduce a new element into life" doesn't necessarily involve having a job; it can take the form of "dancing to rock 'n' roll records...taking fencing or karate lessons together, having a foreign student come to live with them, studying the stock market carefully, making small investments and then making money." Having another admirer sometimes helps, too. (He needn't actually be a lover.)

Another woman went in for volunteer work--but "not hospital work or collecting for a worthy cause. My cause was to wake myself up--to get involved. So I jumped into local politics..." Eventually her husband worked with her two evenings a week; "we call voters to get them interested in a candidate." Exactly what sort of rapprochement this work involves isn't clear. Do they sit side by side using separate telephones? Or do two of them work on one voter via extension phones?

In this article we can identify a number of ideas that can reassure a woman who doesn't seem to be measuring up in sexual attractiveness. The concepts of "nature's inexorable commands" and woman's incontrovertible biology mean that a woman can't _help_ being sexually potent--even superior to the man. If an individual woman herself doesn't feel up to par sexually, she can take comfort by identifying with the supposed superpotency of her sex as a whole. She can feel encouraged by this article in whatever sexuality she recognizes herself to possess; and she can always look to the future. Many _Cosmopolitan_ readers will not have reached 35; they still have time to reach their "full stride."

Notice also the phenomenon of engaging in an activity not for itself, but for the specificend of holding your man and the general end of that abstract goal, making life more interesting. It is as if the magazine were telling its readers, "do something--anything--to make yourself more interested in life and more interesting to others." It seems to be talking to readers who have sunk to quite a depth in the rut they have been creating for themselves. But, "inject a new element into life," "make herself new," a woman's life can be more interesting and her sex life restored. Betty Friedan makes a similar argument, though her emphasis is somewhat different. Arguing from Maslow's discussion of self-actualizing people and the satisfying life and sexual expression these people enjoy, she says that women will never be fulfilled in either respect until they are allowed and encouraged to use all the capacities they have. The villain in Betty Friedan's piece is "the feminine mystique," a manifold ideology that keeps a woman in the home long after home and children fulfill her capacities, and discourages women from discovering what their interests outside the home might be. Cosmopolitan does not here envisage any cultural suppression of women; nor does it dwell on women's misfortunes. Rather it ascribes stengths to women, strengths a woman cannot escape even should she wish to. The villain is man's drooping Kinsey curve; he, poor creature, can't do anything about it but seek new women. His wife must remedy the situation by becoming new herself. Presumably she can go on "injecting a new element into life" forever. This devotion to newness as a remedy is compatible with a culture that appreciates almost exclusively the attractions of youth. A pattern that encouraged women, while still students, to develop interests that would serve them through a lifetime of work would be more congruent with a culture of men who admired older women as well, or who even believed that a woman is not really attractive until she reaches forty.

"How to Dump an Old Defeated Image and Build a Superior New One" is not, as one might expect, about makeup and clothes. Rather, the article refers to one's self-image and is typical of Cosmopolitan's use of psychological concepts to assure success in man-hunting. It was written by a psychologist, Allan Fromme.

The article explains that self-rejection (a poor self-image) may begin with a history of rejecting parents. It may include "forced feeding...and premature toilet training," which "say to the child, in essence, 'Don't trust your feelings; I know better.'" A person with a poor self-image may have been brought up to feel he didn't deserve much pleasure out of life.

> Some philosophies also have a way of dragging us down...some families stress the philosophy: "We don't have much, but things could be worse; so be grateful for what you have." Or the general principle may be, life is a vale of tears; pleasure, if it is not the tool of the devil, is at best a Saturday-night reward for a hard week's work and not to be seized in itself. This sounds like a realistic way of adjusting to what one has, but it is ultimately negative.

Part of Cosmopolitan's campaign consists in constantly reassuring its readers that they have every right to seek pleasure. The magazine often tells them, "Only you yourself are stopping yourself from doing what you really want to do."

The article lists five ways that can help increase one's self-approval. 1) Do things for others. 2) Do a job "well enough to feel some pride." 3) Improve physical health. 4) Maintain your pleasure level by taking active joy in even small or seemingly trivial pleasures. But especially take pleasure in other people. 5) Let other people reciprocate your enjoyment. Let them give to you.

Self-Admiration

"Anouk Aimée: She is a Love Star" is the account of a Paris sidewalk-cafe interview with this film star who has become successful in the last few years. The writer was particularly struck by the actress's following qualities: 1) her unpretentious dressing; 2) her refusal to say what interviewers want to hear; 3) her recognizing a man's need for freedom; 4) her being a creature of impulse, of the moment, and always "within herself"; 5) her willingness to do films without pay, even when she was totally out of funds; 6) her having lived through suffering; 7) her having had "two important loves" and her being now unassertively wise about men and women. The article stresses the power of a "love star" to induce a "subtle mutation" in the life of a woman seeing her film. The woman watching Anouk Aimée will be able to annex some of her qualities.

The importance of Anouk Aimée for Cosmopolitan can be summarized by quoting this paragraph of the author's comment:

> Janes (Fonda) and Shirleys (MacLaine) we have with us always, bringing us up to date on swinging sex and the latest bedroom effects. Notwithstanding, most of us Janes and Shirleys over twenty-five who escape to the movies on Tuesday night still want to believe. We sit with colossal straw pocketbooks in our laps watching Swedish erotica--oh, yes, brutally honest. And Mod mini-love--yes, precious, ho, hum; what to buy at the August white sale. And then we see a movie like "A Man and a Woman," a star like Anouk Aimée. Her effect is organic. She is the essence of love between man and woman. Ageless. Unhip. Total. It restores the spirit... [ellipses in text]

This passage suggests that what Allan J. Moore says in his article, "The Cosmo Girl: A Playboy Inversion" is not quite true. He writes, "What Cosmopolitan reflects is the growing depresonalization of sex...

Mrs. Brown seems to be training sexual athletes rather than cultivating young women who know how to share a total life with another." 9 Cosmopolitan does state the ideal of sex as a form of sharing, though it may recognize and approve forms that make do with less. The article "How Long Can He Stay Sexually in Love with You?" presents the ideal of emotional closeness:

> A casual moment's reflection on the intensity of the dislike most women feel for sexual athletes proves the correctness of this idea [the idea that "In a woman, the orgasm follows love."] This is evident when a woman wants to refuse a proposition: she doesn't first ask the man, "How good are you?" Instead, she says, "But I don't love you."
> ...A wife can also realize that a diminuation of their sex life is not an indication that their marriage is skidding, even if they're both only in their thirties. It may simply mean that although "the thrill is gone," something deeper and more pleasurable--warmth, friendship, compassion, and comfortable sex -- has replaced the tension and anxiety of what might be called nouveau sex.
> ...I talked about the sexual drive of husbands and wives with my old friend, Lou, who, after a long career around town with this lady and that, had surprised everyone by getting married. "Maybe I got all the overheated sex business out of my system," he said. "Maybe I finally proved something to myself, or at least decided I didn't have to prove it anymore. Marge understood all that in me, and she rode out some very tough times. But now, I find I love waking up the next morning with her, having the eggs and coffee....Even if we haven't made it the night before. When we do, well, we know each other, and it's very, very nice. I have more than just the bedroom going for me with Marge.
> "A wife?"
> "A life," he said. [italics in text]

In other words, sex is best in a relationship of intimacy. In yet another way, though, the Cosmopolitan ideal of sexuality transcends "sexual athletics." The article quoted above also states, "In our time, the sexual act has become our symbol and, perhaps, our evidence of a world beyond everyday senses--a world of indinite delight: sweeter, more heady and rapturous than any we've known." Thus sexuality becomes a quasi-mystical expericence.

There is one further aspect of Cosmopolitan sexuality that deserves comment. To return for a moment to the interview with Anouk Aimée, the author of this article (Gail Sheehy) seems to be touched much more by the performance of Anouk Aimée than by the performances of either of the attractive men in "A Man and a Woman." There is a marked element of female narcissism in Cosmopolitan--admiring Anouk Aimée's appearance, her emotional responses and her tender wisdom; relishing the image of woman made, by nature, more sexually potent than man. The girl on the cover appears in rather low decolletage, and the girls in the fashion feature, on elaborate underwear, are posed in obviously provocative ways. Female narcissism also shows up in the moviecolumn: Audrey Hepburn

> makes all the laborious plot-thickening...worth--while; you can just sit and groove on her fabulous face while script writers...tie up all the strings ...Raquel Welch, the new international love goddess, has the best opportunity yet to show off her pulchritudinous charms in "Fathom," a new suspense spoof...Raquel survives many a tight squeeze and looks almost as fetching in her jumpsuits as in her bikini. Who cares about acting in a movie like this? A terrific girl, Raquel makes a big splash in "Fathom."

Fiction in Cosmopolitan: The Absence of Men, the Achievement of Women

The relative insignificance of men seems to be carried into the fiction in this issue. The major characters of both stories are young working women; all the women in the stories are employed (if you include nuns), except for one aged and very minor character. Men do not occur as acting characters in one of the stories, though one of the heroines continually reports to the other on her conquests of a series of very rich sugar daddies, the only men who figure in the story. Contrary to what Cosmopolitan says its interests are, then, this story does not center on "contemporary man-woman relationships," but on the relationship, founded on talk about sex, between two girls: one aggressive and promiscuous, the other a stay-at-home who thinks of herself as just about the only twenty-two-year-old virgin left in Southern California. The men in this story are exploited and therefore somewhat ridiculous objects, not described at all as individual persons.

The other story also concerns the relationship between two girls, one of whom is described as schizophrenic and who tries to kill the other--who in turn is described as a neurotic person who has attempted suicide. Minor male characters in this story include a critical, rejecting lover (the heroine's immediate superior in her editorial work, who breaks off with her early in the story); a supportive colleague at the newspaper; and some insensitive French police. A somewhat less minor male character is the heroine's second psychiatrist (her first was a woman) who develops a "personal involvement" with his patient. The heroine responds, though previously he had not been a part of her mental world of overwhelming personal concerns at all. She has done nothing to encourage or even provoke his attentions, and their walking off together into a "patch of bright sunlight" at the end is by no means the climax of the story. Both of these aspects of her relation with this man are in striking contrast to the usual patterns of homemaking-magazine fiction. Absent also is the suggestion that this personal involvement is profoundly stirring or will lead to marriage. It cannot even, as yet, be called a romance; it may be just one in a series of "involvements."

Another difference from homemaking magazine fiction is that the heroine really cares about her work and is rewarded in her work at the end of the story. Her superior resigns and she gets promoted to his place ("...the feeling of the board..is that most of the success of the paper has been due to you, and that you are our most valuable property.") To cite yet another difference, the story does not suggest that psychological difficulties are solved by falling in love-- nor even by simply recalling a childhood trauma about which the heroine has had amnesia (the plot of the story involves the effort to discover and remember the traumatic event). The heroine recognizes that with her tendencies to self-blame and depression, which led to attempted suicide in the past, she will need further therapy.

Cosmopolitan's View of Women

In *Cosmopolitan*, getting a man seems to be of utmost importance; but men, fully articulated as individuals, seem to be relatively insignificant. Interpreting this discrepancy in Eriksonian[10] terms, one might say that the girls *Cosmopolitan* has in mind are too preoccupied with forming an identity to be able to engage in intimacy (and besides, the identity still incompletely formed is that of a person attractive to men). It is not surprising that for such a woman the significant people are other women; she continually has to measure herself against obviously attractive women to see how she's doing.

CONCLUSIONS

The only topics covered at all extensively in *all* the women's magazines we studied are clothing, personal appearance, and health and medicine, particularly gynecology. Beyond this common ground, the magazines make their own emphases: the fashion magazines naturally have more to say about fashion; the homemakers' magazines concentrate on family matters and child-rearing; and the magazines for younger (generally single) women deal in psychological self-analysis and problems in relations with other people.

There is evidence that both of the following things are true about women's magazines: that they encourage women to be privatistic, home-bound, psychologically incurious, and shut off from social and political problems; and that they are beginning to encourage women to be aware of their personal, psychological, social, and professional situation in the twentieth century, and to give women information that will help them to develop their capacities both inside family life and beyond it.

On the negative side, the magazines share a general lack of attention to politics or social change, coupled with a strong interest in the rich and/or famous. This interest is perhaps not so surprising in the fashion magazines; they hardly pretend to write about any aspect of the world more serious than fashion, and they are written for women who are quite well off, if not absolutely rich. (Dresses featured in these magazines, for example, commonly cost $100 or $200, though some cost less-- when the prices are mentioned at all. Couturier clothing, of course, costs a great deal more, and its prices are not mentioned.) The fashion magazines thus seem encapsulated in a very special and precious world; interest in the rich seems relatively congruent with this context. Emulation of the rich takes on a quite different meaning in the context of a magazine like Ladies' Home Journal; in 1967, the median household income of its readers fell between $5,000 and $8,000. Yet articles on wealthy people repeatedly appear in this magazine and others like it; articles still appear telling women "How to Dress Like Jackie," long after her marriage to one of the richest men in the world. Women's magazines knew they had a good thing in Jackie even when she was Mrs. Kennedy. Now that she has put even more distance between her life style and that available to other women, some women's magazines seem as determined as ever to ignore the discrepancy. The idea still seems to be to emulate the super-rich. It may be suggested that this identification is harmless, that it introduces some innocent pleasure and glamour into an otherwise dull life. But any reader of women's magazines who manages to identify with the super-rich, as she is bid, must put a great deal of energy into practicing blindness, denial, and repression of frustration, thus preventing herself from investing that energy in real accomplishments. Even Glamour and Mademoiselle, which in other respects are among the less status-oriented women's magazines, tell their readers "how to look like a rich girl."

On the other side of the ledger, it is true that women's magazines are beginning to run articles encouraging women to become involved in community affairs and problems like smog control. As for national and international problems, it should be noted that Ladies' Home Journal has published an article on war injuries to Vietnamese children; McCall's has written about violence in America; Vogue has published Frances Fitzgerald's critical reporting on the Vietnam war; and several women's magazines have had articles on various aspects of black militancy. Such articles are, of course, notable because they are the exception rather than the rule.

Women's magazines are publishing thoughtful pieces about women's roles in America today, and these are not all, by any means, rhapsodies on the housewife's lot. Some are written by social scientists such as Margaret Mead and Eleanor Maccoby; some are by writers intensely critical of social norms for American women, including prominent members of the Women's Liberation Front. Any writing on women's roles, of whatever viewpoint, can be of value if it stimulates some reflection in the reader. In their own way, even the fashion magazines have been getting into this act with their exhortations in recent years to "make yourself up"-- that is, to invent the sort of person you are, perhaps a gypsy or a "rich hippie," and project that personality in your dressing. In many ways, then, the message is getting around that women have new degrees of freedom in deciding who they will be. All this emphasis on individual freedom, however, does not do very much to provide women with effective ways of dealing with the social and cultural barriers to their autonomy.

Glamour and Mademoiselle show the greatest interest, among women's magazines, in exploring women's most recent liberation; but with their enormous interest in getting young women to buy clothing and ever-changing makeup and beauty products, they certainly are not about to effect any basic changes in women's role as consumer. Several writers have made the point that as long as women are expected to invest their time and energy keeping the American economy going by their search for ever-more-satisfying consumer goods, there will be no advance in women's capacity to develop their intellectual and creative abilities. As the blues singer says, albeit in a slightly different context, "I've got a mind to give up livin' -- yes, and go shoppin' instead." Glamour and Mademoiselle are, however, interested in stamping out those symptoms of women's inferior status that they consider passé, such as too-submissive behavior towards men, or the automatic belief that a woman's place is in the home. Since these magazines do write about young women who do interesting work, they may teach some women, especially those who do not have women among their family, friends, and acquaintances who are attractive, dynamic models of achievement, that it is possible to be a good-looking, well-dressed, sexy person even while achieving in the world of work. Indeed, having stimulating accomplishments has almost become part of the definition of being sexy and attractive. It is possible that career achievement may become subsumed under the concept of woman as a sexual being, as we have seen in the case of Cosmopolitan.

What about the non-fiction in the homemaker's magazines? Since the homemakers' magazines are written largely for women with preschool and school age children, their non-fiction says little about careers or new styles of womanhood in achievement outside the home; as we have seen, their interest is centered on the family. One would expect that changes in women's roles in the society at large would be affecting women's roles inside the family, but one does not see much about this possibility in homemakers' magazines. Perhaps in ten years or so, when the readers of Glamour and Mademoiselle have become mothers, we will see more about new ways of loving and encouraging children and husbands. At the moment, McCall's and Redbook seem to have the least restricted notions of what women can do and what they're interested in. Both cover a relatively wide range of topics outside the home; Redbook, perhaps because it is written for the younger readers and is, in this respect, more like Glamour and Mademoiselle, has more in the way of psychologically introspective articles. When examining the non-fiction of women's magazines, however, one should not simply note the content of the articles or the topics they cover. The style of the articles (particularly the extent, if any, to which they talk down to the reader) and the point of view they adopt are also significant. It is hardly a damning criticism of a woman's magazine to say that most of its articles are about home and family, since these subjects are of major interest to women. The question is, how are these subjects treated? Redbook, for example, even in its articles about home and family, displays rather more than average respect for its readers' intellect and capacity for emotional depth.

These differences among homemakers' magazines in degree of sophistication carry over somewhat from the non-fiction into the fiction; but, in the fiction, the differences among the magazines is not so impressive as the similarity. The fiction section of these magazines seems, strangely, even narrower in its interests than the non-fiction. Other researchers have similarly found that, in the communication of advice about childrearing, magazine fiction tends to be repressive while the non-fiction is more permissive.[11] In the fictional world of women's magazines, the main concern is getting a man and keeping him. Though 75% of the readers of homemakers' magazines are already married and though they are expected to identify with the heroines of the fiction, only about 13% of the stories in this sample deal with the marital relationship, while more than twice as many feature single girls successfully finding their man. Apparently, reliving the experience of courtship and getting married is meant to be one of the greatest sources of satisfaction for these married readers, most of them mothers. The fiction continually makes the point that to be unmarried is to suffer loneliness and pain. The fiction thus reassures married readers that married life, no matter what its frustrations, is indeed worth it, and is much preferable to any other state. Similarly, although less than 10% of the readers are widowed, twice that percentage of stories have widows as major characters. The fictional widows are young, not old women whose husbands have died simply from old age. The women are still attractive, and some man is usually around to show an interest in them. Thus, whether or not they provide reassuring preparation for widowhood, andwhether or not they allow the reader vicarious satisfaction of any hostility toward an all-too-living husband, the stories about widows certainly allow the reader to have her cake and eat it too. She can feel how lucky she is to be married while knowing that, through widowhood, she can repeat the moment of greatest satisfaction in her life: the moment of getting married. These then, are roughly the boundaries of the fictional world of women's magazines: contemplating the road to marriage and its possible end by death, never by divorce. Married women in this fiction do not venture far beyond the home: education is merely a help on the way to marriage; employment, a meaningless or disastrous detour. One more feature of this fiction that deserves comment is the striking number of sufferers, losers, and victims in its pages: widows, orphans, illegitimate children, emotionally disturbed children, murder victims, and intended murder victims. Not all such persons are major characters, but they are there. The largest concentration of victims in this sample of fiction occurs in Good Housekeeping. Does their presence there have any connection with what seems to be Good Housekeeping's relatively constricted view of womanhood?

It is not known to what degree the content of women's magazines reflects the desires of readers, advertisers, or editors. Some have argued that women's magazine editors of the 1950's were engaged in a conspiracy to keep women in the home; and certain of these editors have been known to believe that encouraging women to have careers is a recipe for neurotic frustration-- that, in fact, fulfilling oneself as a homemaker is necessary to a woman's mental health. Whatever the intentions of the editors, and granted advertisers' need to train women as consumers, women's magazines can not very well publish material out of touch with their readers' lives and still go on selling. What the women's magazines do publish constitutes the culturally acceptable commonplaces about women's concerns, which do affect women's lives. Each woman has to come to terms with these commonplaces in her own way. These commonplaces can be especially coercive when they exist in an ill-defined, half-spoken way, as matter that "everybody knows" and "everybody" agrees about. When they are made explicit, in an analytical manner, women can know more clearly what they are dealing with, and can work more effectively, publically and privately, to change those commonplaces that need changing.

1. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Norton, 1963. pp. 47, 48.

2. Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964. p. 130.

3. Friedan, *op. cit.*, pp. 44. 45.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

5. U. S. Department of Labor, *Handbook on Women Workers*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965. p. 185.

6. David McClelland, Wanted: A New Self-Image for Women. In R. J. Lifton (Ed.) *The Woman in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964. pp. 181, 182.

7. Betty Friedan, *op*. *cit*,, pp. 45, 46.

8. Big Sister, *Time*, February 9, 1968. p. 61.

9. Allan J. Moore, The Cosmo Girl: A Playboy Inversion. In Robert Theobald (Ed.) *Dialogue on Women*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967. p. 86.

10. Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*. New York: Norton, 1950. pp. 229-231.

11. Nathan Maccoby, The Communication of Child-Rearing Advice to Parents, *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development*, 1961, *7*, 199-204.

Chapter V

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON WOMEN: 1950-1969

Peggy Comstock

The bibliography that follows is divided into four sections:

I. DESCRIPTIVE AND/OR THEORETICAL STATEMENTS ABOUT CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN WOMEN AND THEIR ROLES

II. WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

III. WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS

IV. EDUCATION OF WOMEN BEYOND COLLEGE AGE

A search was made of the literature in these four areas for books and articles concerning adult women. The items cited here come from standard sources such as the Education Index, the International Index, Sociological Abstracts, and Psychological Abstracts, and from bibliographical leads in books and articles on women. Most of the books and articles cited come from the literature of the social sciences and psychology; a few are from popular literature. Almost all of the entries are annotated; in some cases, however, annotation seemed superfluous, and some publications, especially among the most recent titles, were not available for annotation. Items that were not of sufficient interest or quality were excluded, though some important ones may have been overlooked. With a few exceptions, works published before 1950 also were excluded.

I. DESCRIPTIVE AND/OR THEORETICAL STATEMENTS ABOUT CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN WOMEN AND THEIR ROLES

Allport, Gordon W., Vernon, Philip E., and Lindzey, Gardner. A Study of Values. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931.

In this classic study of interests or motives in personality, women were found to score higher than men on the aesthetic, religious, and social dimensions, while men scored higher than women on the political, theoretical, and economic dimensions.

American Women. Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. 1963.

Data on education, counseling, women's life at home and in the community, private and federal employment, labor standards, legal status, women's voting, women in public office, women working for political parties, benefits to widows, dependents of single women, unemployment insurance, and maternity benefits.

Benjamin, B. and A. New Facts of Life for Women. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Brown, D. G. Sex-Role Development in a Changing Culture. Psychological Bulletin, 1958, 55, 232-242.

Gives examples, based on experimental and observational data, of the preference in both sexes for the masculine role, in American cultures and others. Attention is called to a trend toward the convergence of sex roles in American culture, and to rapid changes in the feminine sex role in Japan and Germany since World War II.

Cassara, Beverly B. (Ed.) American Women: The Changing Image. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.

Essays by 11 symposium members on the status of women in American society, and the image they should strive for. Topics include: changing relationships between men and women, leadership responsibilities of women, volunteer community work, women in trade unions.

De Martino, M. (Ed.) Sexual Behavior and Personality Characteristics. New York: Citadel Press, 1963.

In his paper, "Self-Esteem (Dominance-Feeling) and Sexuality in Women," Maslow, "using a clinical-experimental methodology, combined with certain quantative ratings," concluded that "sexual behavior and attitudes were much more closely related to dominance-feeling than to sheer sexual drive in our subjects." This paper and others in the volume hypothesize connections between sexual adequacy and self-esteem, which is presumably also an important factor in women's achievement and feelings of fulfillment. Other papers treating a similar theme are, in particular, Maslow's "Love in Self-Actualizing People" and De Martino's "Dominance-Feeling, Security-Insecurity, and Sexuality in Women."

Ellman, Mary. Thinking about Women. New York: Harcourt, 1968.

A study of women in fiction, including such twentieth-century authors as Mary McCarthy and Norman Mailer.

Farber, Seymour M., and Wilson, Roger H. L. (Eds.) The Challenge to Women. New York: Basic Books, 1966.

Essays by 13 symposium members, the central concern of which is women's responsibility to relieve the population explosion by finding ways other than childbirth to express themselves and find meaning in their lives as individuals through challenging positions outside the home.

Farber, Seymour M., and Wilson, Roger H. L. (Eds.) The Potential of Woman. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Essays by 15 symposium members, from various fields, including writing, social science, medicine and history. The volume begins with very basic matters, starting with research findings concerning female non-human primates. Other chapters cover "Biological Make-up of Woman" and research on differences in intellect between men and women, boys and girls. Other topics included are: differences between men and women in psychosexual development; cultivation of female qualities in men; implications of equality between men and women; forms of rivalry between men and women; the emancipation movement of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and its present status; women's roles; women as patrons of the arts; women as investors; problems of creative women; the exploitation of Marilyn Monroe.

Flexner, Eleanor. Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959.

Freedman, M. B. Changes in Six Decades of Some Attitudes and Values Held by Educated Women. Journal of Social Issues, 1961, 17, 19-28.

Comparison of 6 decades of Vassar Alumnae on the California Public Opinion Survey (the authoritarianism and ethnocentrism scales) were made, with the finding that the various decades from 1904-1956 differed significantly in their answers. It was considered that these findings reflected real differences in general attitude change and that the differences were related to cultural attitudes prevailing at the time these individuals were in college. General conclusions were that present data attitudes are more flexible or, perhaps, more conforming in areas assessed by the F scale.

Goldberg, P. Are Women Prejudiced against Women? Trans-action, 1968, 5, 28-30.

College women were asked to evaluate identical written articles. For one group of subjects, the article appeared with a man's name as author; for another group, with a woman's name. The articles ostensibly written by men were consistently rated higher than the same articles ostensibly written by women, even in fields where women are known to predominate, such as dietetics and elementary education.

Goldman, George D. and Milman, Donald S. (Eds.) Modern Woman: Her Psychology and Sexuality. New York: Thomas Press, 1969.

Gross, Irma H. (Ed.) Potentialities of Women in the Middle Years. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956.

Horney, Karen. Feminine Psychology. Harold Kelman, Ed. New York: Norton, 1967.

A collection of the author's psychoanalytic and clinical papers on women, marriage, etc.

Hudson, Kenneth. Men and Women: Feminism and Anti-Feminism Today. New York, Transatlantic Press, 1969.

Janis, Irving L. and Field, P. B. "Sex Differences and Personality Factors Related to Persuadability." In I. L. Janis et al., Personality and Persuadability. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

Komarovsky, Mirra. Women in the Modern World. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953.

Questions the identification of career interests with neurotic tendencies, and challenges the view that an increase in the proportion of working women has contributed to any increase in women's frustrations and maladjustment. The author identifies a new group of "new-style feminists," about 20% of the college women she observed: women who expect their husband to be sympathetic to their career, and who are entering a career not in revolt against homemaking duties, but from a positive interest in some field and a desire to achieve in it.

Leland, Carole A. and Lozoff, Marjorie M. College Influences on the Role Development of Female Undergraduates. Stanford, Ca.: Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University, 1969.

Part 1 is a bibliographic essay in which Carole Leland reviews the research literature of the 1950's and 1960's concerning women, noting that although much writing was done about women during this period, much of it does not stem from research. She outlines the main factors shaping this literature, namely research on undergraduate women and the "manpower" concerns of the 60's. The bibliography covers research on education and college-age women, a topic outside the scope of the present bibliography. Leland is critical of the work she discusses: "Researchers continue to dichotomize the female population, and especially to dwell upon the marriage-career duality despite its repetitive obviousness;...investigations repeat both questions and recommendations which appeared in the 1940's and 50's.... While data from large populations have proved beneficial for group description, research could contribute far more to understanding both individual and group behaviors....Research studies need to reflect changes in society, differences in educational and social backgrounds (now largely ignored by research reported...), and shifts in generations. Without negating their value, it seems important to warn that the earlier studies at schools such as Vassar or Bennington cannot remain the only bases from which educational programs for women develop. Research projects which reveal only projected or anticipated behaviors, e.g. what decisions women think they will make, or what they believe will be important to them in the future, cannot provide accurate, relatively secure foundation for making institutional changes. Studies which tend to oversimplify realities and to obscure complexities cannot ensure adequate attention to individual problems of wasted potential or the potential damage of limited self-esteem or unawareness of opportunities for self-realization."

In Part 2, Marjorie Lozoff reports her analysis of interview data from 49 college women and describes differences in parental influence, self-evaluations, and behavior as these shaped career development and perception of feminine role. On the basis of the clinical judgment of several researchers, the women were divided into groups largely on the basis of the degree to which they possessed autonomy, or the "assumption of personal responsibility for self-definition and self-development." Empirical tests support the classification into groups. Differences among these groups and among sub-groups are described with respect to personality characteristics, family background, academic performance, and career and marriage expectations. One important characteristic of the work is that it breaks away from the usual "marriage-career" dichotomy spoken of above. Rather, Lozoff finds that marriage and career expectations are closely interwoven, and that both are related to the degree of autonomy achieved.

Lewis, Edwin C. Developing Woman's Potential. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1969.

An extensive review of research on girls and women, made to provide the basis for different ways of planning women's lives in the future. Major topics are the development of sex differences, the homemaker, and the employment and education of women. A great deal of basic information is summarized. An appendix to each chapter discusses the chapter's sources and references. Bibliography.

Lifton, R. J. (Ed.) The Woman in America. Boston: Beacon, 1964.

Most of the essays in this book first appeared in Daedalus, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The volume includes contributions on a wide range of subjects by Erik Erikson, Robert Jay Lifton, Diana Trilling, David Riesman, Alice Rossi, Esther Peterson, David McClelland, Carl N. Degler, Edna G. Rostow, Lotte Bailyn, Jill Conway, and Joan M. Erikson.

Lynn, D. B. Sex-Role and Parental Identification. Child Development, 1962, 33, 555-564.

This paper hypothesizes that males tend to identify with a cultural stereotype of the masculine role ("masculine role identification"), whereas females tend to identify with aspects of their own mothers' role ("mother identification"). "In learning the mother-identification lesson, the little girl acquires a learning method which primarily involves (a) a personal relationship and (b) imitation; while the boy's learning method involves (a) finding the goal; (b) restructuring the field; and (c) abstracting principles. By assuming that these learning methods are applicable to learning tasks generally, the following hypotheses were derived: 1. Females will demonstrate a greater need for affiliation than males. 2. Females are more dependent than males on the external context of a perceptual situation and will hesitate to deviate from the given. 3. Males generally surpass females in problem-solving skills. 4. Males tend to be more concerned with internalized moral standards than females. 5. Females tend to be more receptive to the standards of others than males. These hypotheses were in general agreement with the research findings reviewed."

Maslow, Abraham J. The Social Personality Inventory: A Test for Self-Esteem in Women. With Manual. Palo Alto, Calif.: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1942.

Morgan, Robin. Women in Revolt. New York: Random House, 1969.

Rogers, K. M. The Troublesome Helpmate: A History of Misogyny in Literature. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966.

Unfavorable conceptions of women in Western literature, from the Biblical tradition and ancient Greek and Latin writings to the present, including American literature.

Rossi, Alice. The Roots of Ambivalence in American Women. Unpublished manuscript, 1966.

Rossi proposes that (1) There is no social role toward which there is no ambivalence; (2) Roles vary in the extent to which it is culturally and psychologically permissible to express ambivalence; (3) Ambivalence

can be admitted most readily toward those roles which are optional; (4) The more critical the role is for the maintenance and survival of a society, the greater the likelihood that the negative side of ambivalence will be repressed, and negative sanctions applied to its expression. Citing various evidence that women feel ambivalent about the homemaker and mother role, Rossi suggests that such ambivalence is not permitted expression in part because of the individualistic and competitive achievement drive of American society. "If each child must be reared in a very special way, accenting his development to his full unique potential and in competition with his peers, then he is best reared in a highly individuated manner by the person who most appreciates his uniqueness, his mother. Only such uniqueness and a self-conception rooted in it is considered appropriate to develop a competitive, go-getting, work-focused new generation." She notes that women with high career achievement are markedly deviant women, and that increased participation of women in the labor force does not so much indicate increased social acceptance of deviation from the homemaker role as increased economic and demographic pressures making it necessary for positions to be filled by women.

Samelson, Nancy Morse, and Weiss, Robert S. Social Roles of American Women: Their Contribution to a Sense of Usefulness and Importance. Marriage and Family Living, 1958, 20, 358-366.

Marriage seems to set a condition "in which housework takes on and maintains value for the majority of women....Women who are unmarried, particularly middle-aged women, will want careers or other social roles outside the home, but married women will only infrequently be motivated to seek careers because of the emptiness of housework."
--M. M. Gillet, Psychological Abstracts.

Slater, Carol. Class Differences in Definition of Role and Membership in Voluntary Associations among Urban Married Women. American Journal of Sociology, 1960, 65, 616-619.

The higher the socioeconomic status of married urban women, the more likely they are to place more emphasis on the individualistic companionship role in marriage and less emphasis on the traditional familistic homemaker role.
--J. M. Bardwick.

Smith, M. A. Compliance and Defiance As It Relates to Role Conflict in Women. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1961. Dissertation Abstracts, 22(1), 646.

This research was designed to explore the relationship of two personality types, Compliant and Defiant, to manifestations of conflict associated with the exclusive adoption of the expected role of wife and mother. Subjects of the study were 107 entering freshmen women from Monteith College in Wayne State University.

A projective test (The Compliance Defiance Test) was used to discriminate the two personality types according to characteristics deriving from the psychoanalytic interpretation of the dimension of anality. Hypotheses concerning (1) other personality dimensions related to Compliance-Defiance and (2) role variables (attitudes toward wife and mother and career goals) were tested by two personality tests, the Impulse Expression Scale of Sanford, Webster and Freedman, and a Figure-Drawing Test adapted from Caligor, and through data from structured interviews and a self-administered questionnaire.

Among personality correlates, Defiance is significantly related to high impulsivity as measured by the Impulse Expression Scale, a masochistic orientation toward the role of wife and mother, non-erotized narcissism-exhibitionism, and a strongly internalized Superego. A zero correlation was obtained between Compliance-Defiance and a measure of intelligence, The Test of Critical Thinking.

Compliance is related to a preference for early marriage, the perception of college in terms of self-enrichment, and rejection of a career-like campus role (newspaper staff work). Defiance is related to later marriage plans, college seen as preparation for a career, and the acceptance of the campus career role. Many other relationships tested, while not significant, were in the predicted direction with respect to attitudes toward the two roles.

The data were further explored relative to two background variables, social class and having a mother who works. These variables seem to have some interacting effects on the choice of specific educational and career goals of the two types of women. This effect is observed in regard to rejection of the traditionally feminine career of school teacher in upwardly-mobile, marginally middle-class Defiant girls, and in regard to plans to pursue a career in addition to the wife and mother role by Defiant girls who are daughters of working mothers. --from the author's abstract.

Soysa, Nita. Self-Concept and Role-Conflict: A Study of Some Aspects of Women's Self-Perception and Self-Evaluation in Relation to Their Attitudes towards Their Sex-Role. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1961 Dissertation Abstracts, 1962, 22(3), 2898.

Preliminary investigations confirmed the assumption that women's conception of her "self-role" could be the crux of the whole problem of conflict and adjustment, although inter-role conflict of varying degrees of intensity might occur. The specific purpose of the research was to devise an adequate method for uncovering those areas of conflict which are seldom verbalized and rarely at the level of awareness.

The author undertook an intensive study of a random sample of married women drawn from a larger universe of women studied by means of a survey questionnaire for the Cornell University Study of Women's Roles, 1956. The sample obtained was sufficiently cross-sectional to reveal the major combinations of educational, socio-economic and occupational status.

The survey questionnaire provided the background data on social and cultural factors. In order to get at the psychological factors associated with conflict, whether intra-self or inter-role, the author used:

1. A "self-report" questionnaire of 30 "I-statements."
2. The same series in the "she-herself" form checked by the husbands of the subjects.
3. A projective test consisting of four cards of the Thematic Apperception Test.
4. A Sentence Completion Test of 32 Items.

The following findings deserve mention:

1. Women from both high and low socio-economic and educational levels, rated the role of home-maker as a more important source of satisfaction than a career.
2. College educated women regarded work outside the home as their career, if they did not have children.
3. In this group a significantly higher percentage of women with a high degree of independence admitted the existence of intra-self conflict than did those low in independence.
4. These women reported having experienced conflict arising from their efforts to cope with the interlocking roles of home-maker, career woman and good citizen and meet their own standards relating to role performance.
5. There was a significant relationship between socio-economic status, degree of independence and the importance ascribed to having a career. More college educated women of low socio-economic status and low independence attached importance to having a career than did women of high socio-economic status.
6. The "self-report technique" is useful in the study of intra-self conflict and related facets of the self, particularly among educated women who are leading an active life in a family situation. It should, however, be supplemented with projective techniques and related to life-history data.
7. Among the women studied intensively there appeared two clearly discernible types:
    (1) Those who overtly deny conflict, but reveal it in response to relatively unstructured stimuli.
    (2) Those who are aware of conflict and deal with it as a normal feature of existence. They are self-reliant and self-sufficient and their self-evaluation is high. They

are flexible and well adjusted. Their responses to projective tests reveal that some women experience intra-self conflict from a lack of opportunity to fulfill their "self-role."

--from the author's abstract

Steinmann, Anne. A Study of the Concept of the Feminine Role of 51 Middle-Class American Families. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1963, 67(2), 275-352.

The attitudes of 51 families were measured using a rating inventory by A. B. Fand, which records attitudes toward the feminine role ranging from the traditional, dependent, other-oriented role to a liberal, independent, self-oriented role. The following findings were found to be statistically significant on the basis of the inventory and interviews: In viewing the feminine role, both mothers and daughters agreed that (a) it consists in equal degrees of traditional (other-oriented) and liberal (self-oriented) elements; (b) self-concepts and ideal concepts are closely related; (c) their concepts of the average woman's and the man's ideal woman are more other-oriented than their own ideal woman; (d) men's ideal woman is more other-oriented than their own ideal woman and that of the average woman. Mothers view themselves as closer to the average woman than do their daughters. The father's ideal woman is seen as more other-oriented than is actually the case.

Steinmann, Anne, Levi, J. and Fox, David J. Self-Concept of College Women Compared with Their Concept of Ideal Woman and Man's Ideal Woman. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1964, 11(4), 370-374.

Three forms of The Inventory of Feminine Values were administered to 75 women attending a large metropolitan college. Subjects were asked to respond first as they felt, then as their ideal woman would respond, and finally as man's ideal woman would respond. Data indicate that the women perceived themselves and their ideal woman as essentially alike, with equal components of passive and active orientations; but they perceive man's ideal woman as significantly more passive and accepting of a subordinate role in both personality development and place in family structure.

Steinmann, Anne, and Fox, David J. Male-Female Perceptions of the Female Role in the United States. Journal of Psychology, 1966, 64(2), 265-276.

The same Inventory of Feminine Values (described above) was administered to 562 American men. Data indicates that men's actual ideal woman is not significantly different from the women's own ideal or self-perception. The men's ideal woman is thus significantly more active and self-assertive than the ideal that women attribute to them.

Tyler, Leona E. Ch. 4, "Differences between Men and Women," in The Psychology of Human Differences. New York: Appleton-Century, 1947.

This classical work describes sex differences as ascertained by psychological tests available during the early half of the century. "Tabulation of statistical information about eminent individuals has brought into sharp relief the fact that achievement of the level we call genius is very rare among women. In school achievement, however, girls usually excel boys. So far as tested abilities are concerned, there are some sex differences in the averages, but the distributions show a great deal of overlapping. Males tend to be higher in tests involving mathematical, spatial, and mechanical materials. Females average higher in verbal, perceptual, and memory tests, and in dexterity tests involving light, swift hand movements. Careful analysis of what the distributions show has led to the abandonment of the concept of greater male variability [earlier observation had found more men than women appearing at the high and low ends of a given scale, while females clustered near the middle point].

"In interests, attitudes, and personality characteristics, much larger differences have been shown to exist, though even in these areas there is considerable overlapping between distributions for the two sexes. Males show greater aggressiveness than females, whereas females show more symptoms of neuroticism and maladjustment. Sex differences in likes and dislikes, in emotional and ethical attitudes, and in goals...have been shown."

II. WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT (GENERAL)

Baruch, R. The Achievement Motive in Women: Implications for Career Development. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1967, *5*(3), 260-267.

"[The study tested] two hypotheses concerning the changing patterns of employment of women: (1) there is a temporal cycle in need for achievement (n Ach) associated with age and family situation; and (2) high n Ach is associated with return to paid employment. Data from TAT stories written by 137 Radcliffe alumnae supported the hypotheses. A broader test with a nationwide sample of 763 women failed to confirm either hypothesis. The first relationship obtained for the college women in the sample. Further analysis indicated a time lag between increased n Ach and increased participation in paid employment. --Journal abstract.

Bird, Caroline, with Briller, Sara Welles. *Born Female: the High Cost of Keeping Women Down*. New York: McKay, 1968.

A detailed examination of discrimination against women in employment (salaries, pension plans, etc.), based on other published studies, on statistical summaries, and on interviews with working women and social and business leaders. The author argues that "30 million working American women have been trained to accept inferior status, unequal pay for equal work, and penalties for getting pregnant and having children; to disclaim personal ambition; and to apologize for intellect and ability." The final chapter suggests needed changes in marriage, men's attitudes, and employment practices.

Blood, R. O. and Hamblin, R. L. The Effects of the Wife's Employment on the Family Power Structure. In N. W. Bell and E. F. Vogel (Eds.) *The Family*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. pp. 137-142.

The authors selected married couples from among a preliminary group of married couples, controlling for (1) socioeconomic class, (2) relative education of husband and wife, (3) absolute education of wife, (4) independent unearned income of wife, (5) number of children, (6) religious affiliation (Catholic vs. other), (7) number of years married, and (8) the number of years the wife had been in her present role (full-time employment *vs*. full-time homemaking). The 160 couples selected by this process were given a test of attitudes and were asked which partner had first suggested what turned out to be the final decision in various family decision-making situations (buying a car, having a baby, etc.) In the test of attitudes, the working wives more often showed a change (as compared to reported earlier attitudes) toward equalitarian authority expectations, whereas the housewives more often changed toward traditional authority expectations. The husbands of the working wives also changed more often toward equalitarian authority expectations, whereas more husbands of housewives changed toward traditional authority expectations. However, the difference between the two groups of men was not statistically significant. The tendency in both groups of husbands was to shift toward a more egalitarian role conception, and both groups of families were found to be "remarkably egalitarian" in the actual exercise of power (as determined by decision-making behavior and by the degree to which husbands help with the housework). Working wives, for example, did not show an appreciably greater influence over final decisions than non-working wives. The authors suggest that the men's attitudes may be more important than the women's in actually determining how power is exercised in the family. The authors further note that theories of economic determinism cannot be simplistically applied to the family, since other factors than economic status appear to govern the behavior of family members.

Bowman, Garda W. et al. Are Women Executives People? Survey of Attitudes of 2,000 Executives. Harvard Business Review, 1965, 43, July, 14ff.

This substantial article reports on a survey of 2,000 executives, half of them men and half of them women, the purpose of which was to examine (1) reactions to the prohibition of job discrimination on the basis of sex, as set forth in the Civil Rights Act of 1964; (2) acceptance or rejection of responsibility for voluntary action to improve the situation of women in business; (3) attitudes toward female executives; (4) trends in the incidence of women in management; and (5) the nature and extent of opportunities for women executives. Although the absolute number of women in management has increased greatly in recent years, the proportion of female to male executives has not increased appreciably since 1950. Both men and women interviewed agreed that the female executive has to be overqualified. Only 6% of the men said they were opposed to having women in managerial positions, but 41% expressed "some disfavor" on this point; 35%, however, expressed a "pro-woman" attitude. It was found that men's attitudes toward the employment of women in executive positions becomes more favorable as the questions become more concrete. In addition, "male acceptance of women in managerial roles appears to increase with the age of the respondent (especially after age 40), a relation just the reverse of that of age to acceptance of Negroes. Those with actual working experience with women managers are more likely to be favorable to them. However, relatively few men say they would be comfortable working as a subordinate to a woman; and even fewer think that men in general would be comfortable in such a situation." As for the Civil Rights Act, "Over 80% [of all respondents, male and female] think that the law's administration, rather than its provisions, will...determine its impact. And most opt for voluntary action...to help achieve equality of opportunity for women....Nearly half the men and more than half the women executives suggested specific actions which they think should be taken by business, by women, and by individual executives" to help in this effort.

Cain, Glen G. Married Women in the Labor Force: An Economic Analysis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

A statistical presentation of variables that affect women's participation in the labor force, including family income, wage rates, and education. The more education a woman has, the greater her participation. The presence of children inhibits women's participation, but less so than previously. This study includes comparisons of the work behavior of white and non-white wives. The general pattern was found to be similar for both, but labor force participation is higher for non-white wives and for non-white mothers of young children. It is mainly when the children are of school age, however (ages 7-11), that the difference in work participation between white and non-white mothers is sizable. This finding fits in with the fact that part-time work is more common among non-white wives than among white.

Campbell, David P. The Vocational Interests of Beautiful Women. Paper given at the Midwestern Psychological Association, May 1966. Mimeographed. Cited in Jessie Bernard, Stress-seekers in Everyday Life. In Samuel Z. Klausner (Ed.) Why Men Take Chances. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1968.

Campbell finds that beautiful women (his sample consisted of 100 women employed as models) prefer exciting, adventuresome activities, including those with "the abstract feel of danger...the dramatic...the unstructured."

Cussler, Margaret. The Woman Executive. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1958.

Fifty-five women executives in the Boston and Washington, D. C areas were interviewed for this study, and use was made from earlier interviews in these cities as well as Atlanta and New York. An executive was defined as someone having three or more people responsible to her and earning more than $4,000 a year. Topics covered included such matters as what makes a woman executive; general appearance of and appointments in her office; whether she "arrived" through merited promotion or as a protege; what her problems are in relation to men and other women with whom she must work; and the complications of marriage and off-the-job activities. Male subordinates interviewed tended to agree that women bosses were generally "domineering and difficult," but stipulated, "my own boss is different."

Davis, E. Careers as Concerns of Blue-Collar Girls. In A. B. Shostak and W. Gomberg (Eds.) Blue Collar World. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965. pp. 154-164.

Davis, J. A and Bradburn, N. O. Great Aspirations: Career Plans of America's June 1961 College Graduates. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1961.

Gives differential career plans by sex.

Eyde, Lorraine D. Work Motivation of College Alumnae: Five-Year Followup. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1968, 15(2), 199-202.

The work motivation of 2 classes of college graduates was tested in 1958 and retested in 1963. The work commitment of the 10-year alumnae was more closely related to self-ratings obtained 5 years earlier than was the work commitment of the 5-year alumnae originally studied as seniors. Work values of both alumnae groups remained fairly stable, with some changes observed in the Independence and Interesting-Variety work values-- changes expected as a result of marriage and motherhood. Contrary to the findings of Baruch, longitudinal and cross-sectional data do not show a decline in the valuation placed on mastery-achievement by 10-year alumnae when compared with 5-year graduates. --Journal abstract.

Eyde, Lorraine D. Work Values and Background Factors as Predictors of Women's Desire to Work. Columbus Ohio: Ohio State University, 1962. Bureau of Business Research Monograph No. 108.

This study reports on the desire to work of two classes of Jackson College women; one group of seniors and one group of alumnae out of college for five years. A total of 130 cases showed similarity in motivation between college seniors, alumnae, and American women in general. Desire to work is explored with reference to such factors as marital status; financial status; number and age of children; activity involvement in college; socioeconomic status; occupation and education of parents; and values.

Falk, L. L. Occupational Satisfaction of Female College Graduates. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1966, 28(2), 177-185.

Role analysis is employed to determine if males differ from females in their satisfaction with occupational and avocational uses of their college training. Housewives are more satisfied with their vocation than males, but less satisfied with the application of their academic training in housewivery than males are with their vocational uses of academic training. There is some support for concluding that both sexes engage in avocational activities as a partial solution to occupational dissatisfaction.
--Psychological Abstracts.

Freedman, Mervin B. Ch. 9, The Role of the Educated Woman: Attitudes of Vassar Students, and Ch. 10, Women and Work. In The College Experience. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1967.

Forty-nine Vassar students, randomly selected "from a recently graduated class," were interviewed several times a year during the four years of college. Interviews included the following kinds of questions: "What do you criticize in a woman? What significant contributions are women making to American life? Are there ways in which they could do more? What do you consider to be the ideal position of women in our society? Do you foresee any change in the status of women in this country? What constitutes women's role?" A majority, 25, condemned "the very characteristics that supposedly enter into 'the feminine mystique.' They were disposed to censure 'marriage as the only goal in life, reduction of the self to the husband, leaning on being a woman, superficial social life, pettiness and gossip, not having interests outside of the home and family, being too tied to the children,' and the like." Results of objective testing support the findings of the interviews. In fact, the women students are so strong in their objection to "feminine" characteristics that, as other investigators have found, they see masculine activities and traits as superior to female ones.

As to career plans, slightly more than half anticipated no conflict about interrupting their career for marriage and family. A sizable minority "anticipated that interrupting their careers would not be easy, but that it would be necessary....'I don't want to devote all my time to my children, but I have to.'" Twenty-five percent did not plan to stop working except for brief periods before and after giving birth. On several test scales, students who wanted a career differed from those who did not (See pp. 139, 140). "These test differences suggest that the students who say 'true' to 'I would like a career' are somewhat more intellectual, unconventional, independent (perhaps rebellious), and flexible in thinking and outlook. They are also somewhat more alienated or isolated socially."

The great majority of interviewees seemed content with the status of American women; they felt that "American society offered them, and educated women generally, ample opportunity for fulfillment....They regard the emotional fervor of the feminists of the 19th and early 20th centuries as passé and a little bit odd." They also seemed reluctant to threaten the status or security of men by exceptional accomplishment. At the same time, the author suggests other reasons for their low level of interest in careers: "Educated women often have difficulty working outside the home because they grasp intuitively that the work they are being called upon to perform is contributing to the disintegration of the individual personality and the alienation of people from one another in society."

Heer, D. M. Dominance and the Working Wife. Social Forces, 1958, 36, 341-347.

Data from oral interviews with a sample of Irish Roman Catholic families having at least one child of elementary school age indicate that both in the working and in the middle class "the working wife exerts more influence in family decision-making than the non-working wife." Wives in working-class families, whether they are employed or not, have more say in family decision-making than wives in middle class families. "This correlation between the wife's work status and influence in family decision-making [cannot be] accounted for by an association between the wife's work status and a husband-wife difference in the personality trait of dominance in nomarital roles. [There is] a statistically significant positive association between the number of children in the family and the influence of the husband in decision-making."
--from A. R. Howard, Psychological Abstracts.

WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT (GENERAL)

Hooks, Janet M. Women's Occupations through Seven Decades. U. S. Department of Labor: Women's Bureau Bulletin #218, 1951.

Describes changes in the characteristics of women workers and their employment over the years 1870-1940.

Katz, Joseph. Career and Autonomy in College Women. In Joseph Katz *et al.*, *Class, Character, and Career*. Stanford, Calif.: Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University, 1968.

The California Psychological Inventory, the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, and a 115-item questionnaire relating to occupational choice and work values were administered to random samples of students at a 4-year residential college (N=686) and at a 2-year nonresidential college (N=448). A special analysis was made of the data relating to women, exploring determinants of the career choice of college women and examining factors that may hinder women in achieving full autonomy.

It was found that, as compared to women planning careers, women planning to be housewives are more security-minded and want more economic affluence. Among women planning careers, only those planning to go into business had income expectations as high as did the prospective housewives. While the group of women planning to be housewives is large and varied, more women among them tend to have a passive orientation toward life, perhaps because they have inhibited their self-assertive drives and resigned themselves to a diminished realization of their potential. At the same time, the women at the relatively affluent 4-year college who were planning to be housewives reported higher self-esteem than their classmates, while the reverse was true at the less affluent 2-year college.

Differences in background factors, personality characteristics, and values are also given for women planning different careers: e.g., college teaching, elementary or high school teaching, artistic careers.

The following factors were found to influence career choice and can contribute to inappropriate career choices: (1) incomplete identity formation, (2) social class, (3) culture or mores, (4) student's identification with parents, (5) parental expectations and the student's perception of these expectations, (6) significant peers, especially boyfriends and fiancés, (7) the college experience (a) directly through occupational experiences and (b) indirectly through experiences that helped to develop and stabilize the self-concept, (8) occupational opportunities, or the student's perception of what occupations are available to him or her.

Keniston, K. and E. An American Anachronism: the Image of Women and Work. *The American Scholar*, 1964, *33*, 355-375.

Prevailing images of femininity are inappropriate: mothers are frequently the only female model girls have, and women who do not work for money are regarded as status symbols. In the leisured aristocracy of Europe, women have engaged in philanthropy, arts, sciences, and politics, and there has thus been a positive image of the woman at work; but in America, technological and industrial society has provided no such positive image. The world outside the home has been defined as masculine and threatening; for a woman to enter it implies a loss of femininity and of status. "On the whole," the authors find, "American mass media and popular fiction continue to portray career women as mannish, loose, or both"; and the happy ending for the story involving a career woman is to leave work." Career women are debarred from serving as models to adolescent girls partly by the misapplication of psychiatric judgments; "thus, few outstanding women have been spared the implication that their achievements spring primarily from neurosis." Further, "the most immediate models... available to girls during their adolescense-- their teachers-- are too often unmarried women who have had to pay a high human price for their work." The effect of new technology and of changes in family structure, then, has been, paradoxically, to make women even "more determined to make a go of the wife-and-mother role which objective conditions daily undermine."

The authors recommend (1) a program of education: continually reminding young men and women that most women will work and that fulfillment in the home is not possible over the long run; (2) making different viable models available to girls in adolescence; (3) making men's work more humane, more challenging, demanding more imagination than patience. If this last is accomplished, men will not have to compensate in the home for what they miss at work, and women will be less compelled to be compensatingly passive in the home. "We would hope that women who saw the need to extend their life-space beyond the family would become not less but more womanly in consequence; that in time they would evolve new ways of expressing, rather than denying, their womanliness in their work; and that the result would be a betterment of work for both men and women. We would hope that Americans of both sexes could gradually abandon outdated images of masculinity and femininity without ceasing to rejoice in [sexual] differences."

Klein, Viola. Employing Married Women. London, Institute of Personnel Management, 1961.

Klein, Viola. Women Workers: Working Hours and Services, A Survey in Twenty-One Countries. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1965.

Gives data on working hours in industry, administrative work, distributive trades, and services; community services for working women with family responsibilities; special arrangements for expectant mothers and those with infants; opening and closing times of shops, post offices, local administrative offices, etc., in relation to working hours.
--Author summary.

Klein, Viola, and Myrdal, Alva. Women's Two Roles: Home and Work. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.

Lembeck, Ruth. 380 Part-Time Jobs for Women. New York: Dell, 1969.

McKiever, M. F. The Health of Women Who Work. U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Public Health Service Publication #1314, 1965.

Occupational hazards and protective devices; health services offered at places of employment; policies regarding pregnancy; comparative data on work loss due to illness, by sex, age, etc.

Miller, Mason E. Expert Information Sources and Outside Employment as Facilitators of Mother-Role Change. Dissertation Abstracts, 1965, 25(5), 5427-5428.

One hundred ninety-six Michigan mothers from four counties were studied. Each had a youngest child born in 1944. For 61, their children had all left home. These were considered the post-imbalance mothers; they were postulated as having recently undergone role imbalance resulting from a change in their family social system stage. One hundred thirty-five mothers still had at least one child at home-- the pre-imbalance mothers. They presumably were not yet experiencing the mother-role imbalance the other group had.

The pre-imbalance group was used as a control group to estimate the degree of balance the post-imbalance mothers had had before their children had left home. Since the two imbalance groups were similar on a number of characteristics, it was felt that this assumption was justified.

The major hypotheses stated that, in this imbalance situation, use of either of the two adjustment mechanisms, either expert information sources or outside employment, would lead to a more satisfactory return to balance. At the time of the study, the post-imbalance mothers presumably had had time to use these adjustment mechanisms after their children had left home. Four return-to-balance indices were used to determine the degree to which the post-imbalance mothers had satisfactorily solved this imbalance problem. They were: general satisfaction with life, perception of mother-role competence, number of psychosomatic symptoms expressed, and mother-role emphasis in statements about the self.

Use of either expert information sources or outside employment led to a higher general satisfaction with life for mothers who had entered the imbalance period.

Mothers' ratings of their role competence were not significantly improved by seeking information from expert sources. The effect of outside employment was not checked against perceived role competence because the kind of effect hypothesized for that adjustment mechanism was to lower the salience of the mother role for the woman, rather than to help her solve the imbalance in the mother-role itself.

Employment as an adjustment mechanism did significantly help lower the number of psychosomatic symptoms of the women in imbalance; expert source-seeking did not.

Neither adjustment mechanism influenced role-emphasis. --from the author's summary.

National Manpower Council. Womanpower. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.

National Manpower Council. Work in the Lives of Married Women. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Includes chapters by separate authors on the following topics: education and guidance of women for reentry into the labor force; utilization of women workers over 35; incomes earned by married women; development of the children of working mothers.

Nye, F. I. and Hoffman, L. W. The Employed Mother in America. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1963.

A collection of "most of the social and socio-psychological research" on maternal employment "completed from 1957 to the cut-off date early in 1962." Part I, "Why They Work," portrays "social, economic, socio-psychological, and psychological differences between mothers in and outside the labor force." Part II "presents the rather extensive research dealing with the children of employed and non-employed mothers." The concluding chapter of this section also summarizes research not included in this volume. Part III compares the marital relationships of employed and non-employed mothers. Part IV "compares the self-feelings, health, and relationships of the two categories of mothers."

O'Neill, Barbara Powell. Careers for Women after Marriage and Children. New York: Macmillan, 1965.

A substantial handbook (386 pp.) giving advice on continuing education, on "traditional" women's careers (health, social work, teaching, etc.), and on some more "pioneering" ones (engineering, city planning, etc.). Brief career histories of mature women who entered these fields, including their comments on raising children while pursuing their career and some examples of their daily schedules.

Oppenheimer, Valerie K. The Female Work Force in the United States: Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1966.

While the demand for female labor has been increasing, the supply has fluctuated in a complicated way. Although the female labor force as a whole has been expanding, women who used to provide the backbone of the female labor force (e.g., the unmarried and the young) constituted a stationary or declining population group in the period from 1940 to 1960. The only way a rising demand for female labor force could have been met is by the increased employment of older, married women. The author summarizes data on increased opportunity for such women in elementary and secondary school teaching and in clerical work. Thus, Oppenheimer stresses the influence of demand or opportunity on women's decisions to enter or leave the labor force, as opposed to psychological factors or factors such as changes in homemaking conditions.

Roe, Anne. What to Look for in a Career. In L. C. Muller and O. G. Miller (Eds.), Educating Women for a Changing World. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.

Discusses this topic in terms of Maslow's scheme of basic human needs. (See Abraham Maslow, Motivation and Personality.)

Roe, Anne, and Siegelman, Marvin. The Origin of Interests. APGA Inquiry Studies, 1964, No. 1.

A study of college seniors and a study of men and women engineers and men and women social workers supported the hypothesis that choice of occupation is affected by chidhood experiences. It appeared that "the farther from the cultural sex stereotype the occupational choice is, the more likely it is that there have been particular pressures in the early histories that influenced such a choice. The male social workers and the female engineers had more specific and extensive early background pressures than the female social workers and the male engineers. Thus, the occupation itself seems to offer a replacement for earlier wants: love and understanding in the case of men social workers, a lost father in the case of women engineers.

Rossman, J. E. and Campbell, D. P. Why College-Trained Mothers Work. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1965, 43, 986-992.

In a sample of 240 women who had been freshmen at the University of Minnesota, it was found that as compared to nonemployed mothers, mothers employed full time had a higher mean score on the MSAT; were less satisfied with their marriage and with life in general; and were more likely to have had more education than their husbands.

Russin, Joseph M. What Educated Women Want: A Report on the Views of Vassar Seniors. Newsweek, 1966, 67(May), 68-72.

New-style "senior panic" has to do with feelings of inadequacy about a career, or the fear of being unable to do anything, rather than anxiety about not getting a husband. College girls who chose a field of specialization early were most apt to continue their education in later life. The report cites Mary Bunting's opinion that a general education without focus does not guarantee continuing intellectual interest, and that it is better to have as you go along an hypothesis about what you're going to do with your education.

Scobey, J. and McGrath, Lee P. Creative Careers for Women: A Handbook of Sources and Ideas for Part-Time Jobs. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968.

Advice on starting one's own business; need for capital; careers at home, with younger children, after fifty; getting work in business and industry; applications; attitude; work in the professions; continuing education.

Siegel, Alberta E. and Curtis, Elizabeth. Familial Correlates of Orientation Toward Future Employment among College Women. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1963, 54, 33-37.

Information obtained from individual interviews with 43 young women, a random sample from the population of sophomore women on the campus of a large university, was coded by two independent scalers to yield measures of the work orientation of the Ss and 5 characteristics of their families: socioeconomic status, parents' educational level, mother's work orientation, parents' views on the purpose of college, and parents' attitudes toward importance of education for the daughter. Only 1 of these characteristics-- mother's work orientation-- was found to be significantly correlated with work orientation in Ss. Most Ss stated that they intended to marry and to work. The homogeneity of the sample may have operated to depress observed correlations.
--Journal abstract.

Siegel, Alberta E. and Haas, Miriam B. The Working Mother: A Review of Research. Child Development, 1963, 34, 513-542.

Topics covered in this review include: social attitudes toward working mothers; reasons mothers work; family size in relation to maternal employment, husband-wife relations in families with working mothers; the division of labor with respect to household tasks in families with working mothers; childrearing attitudes and practices of working mothers. Certain pervasive methodological problems in research on this topic are sketched, and some suggestions made for future research.
--from the author's summary.

Simpson, Richard L. and Simpson, Ida. Occupational Choice among Career-Oriented College Women. Marriage and Family Living, 1961, 23, 377-383.

A questionnaire survey of 11 female graduate students indicated that women who intend to pursue careers "have reached this decision because ...[of]a rather special constellation of values and influences."
--Psychological Abstracts. [This article was not available for further annotation.]

Skard, Ase G. Maternal Deprivation: The Research and Its Implications. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1965, 27(3), 333-343.

Reviews and synthesizes relevant findings about the mother-child relationship among animals as well as human beings. Special attention to studies of the working mother as related to maternal deprivation.
--Journal abstract.

Sokolowska, M. Some Reflections on the Different Attitudes of Men and Women towards Work. International Labor Review, 1965, 92(July), 35-50.

Smuts, Robert W. Women and Work in America. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

An historical summary, covering the late nineteenth century to the present. Topics covered include: changes in women's homemaking work; in kinds of paid employment; and in working conditions (e.g., hiring and firing practices, factory conditions). Attitudes of employers toward female workers, ranging from complete indifference to paternalistic supervision of employees' lives. Changing attitudes toward women's working; varying feminist beliefs about women's nature and capacity; beliefs about women's health and delicate physiology.

Steinmann, Anne. The Vocational Roles of Older Married Women. Journal of Social Psychology, 1961, 54, 93-100.

The Fand Inventory, which measures the degree of other-orientation and self-orientation, was administered to 51 girls at a suburban college and to their mothers. A subsample of mothers were interviewed about their desire to work. The statistical data indicates that "these women want expression in...relationships to their family as well as through their own individuality. They do not consider vocational interests as intrinsic to their way of life." The interview data shows that these women value education for their daughters so that they can "participate in community work and take an interest in their husband's activities," but they hesitate to recommend employment because (1) mothers are needed at home, (2) husbands object to wives' working, (3) an employed wife or mother loses personal freedom. The few mothers who are working because they want to feel that unless a woman is vocationally active and creative, it is difficult for her to be the interesting, stimulating woman she might want to be.

Stollenwerk, Toni. Back to Work, Ladies! A Career Guide for the Mature Woman. New York: Pilot Books, 1967.

Turner, Ralph. Some Aspects of Women's Ambitions. American Journal of Sociology. 1964, 70, 271-285.

Questionnaire responses from 1,441 high school senior girls in Los Angeles were examined. Prior evidence suggests that females are less ambitious than males, are ambitious to different ends, or employ different means in pursuit of their ambitions. The discrete measures of ambition employed in the present questionnaire reflect the same two latent types of ambition for female respondents and for their male classmates. One type is approximated by material ambition; the other by females' career ambition and males' "eminence" ambition. Monetary gain is further ruled out as an explanation for careers because levels of material ambition are the same for those who seek both career and homemaking, and those who plan only for homemaking with minimum acceptable husband's occupation controlled. The two latent types of ambition are for extrinsic and intrinsic reward; extrinsic rewards are sought through the husband's occupation and intrinsic rewards through the females' own career and her education; females who value intrinsic rewards highly tend to want careers.
--Modified author abstract.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Women Past Thirty-Five in the Labor Force: 1947 to 1956. Current Population Reports, Series P-50, 75.

U. S. Department of Labor. Are Women Taking Men's Jobs? Women's Bureau, 1963.

The survey finds that women are not competing with men for jobs; they take secretarial jobs and other jobs men do not compete for.

U. S. Department of Labor. College Women Seven Years after Graduation. Resurvey of Women Graduates, Class of 1957. Women's Bureau Bulletin #292, 1966.

The sample of almost 6,000 women graduates was drawn from 153 women's colleges and coeducational universities. When questioned seven years after graduation, more than one-fourth of the surveyed women said they wanted a career, and almost one-half had some other kind of work plan for the future. Less than one-fifth indicated no interest in paid employment. Almost three-fourths expressed interest in further training or education-- principally university courses. Slightly over half of those desiring more education cited job-connected reasons. Forty-six percent had taken at least one graduate or professional course since college graduation-- mostly cultural or recreational in nature. Relatively few had taken business, vocational, or technical courses.

Fifty-one percent of these women were in the labor force seven years after graduation: 39% with full-time jobs, 10% with part-time jobs, and 2% looking for work. More than four-fifths of the employed women considered their present job the kind they wished to hold. A majority said that the chief reasons for taking their present job was that it was "interesting work." Sixty-eight percent considered that there was a direct relationship between their undergraduate major and their current job; three-fourths found a direct relationship between their present job and their graduate education.

Only about one-eighth of all the surveyed graduates indicated that they would like employment counseling. The percentage of those wanting counseling was slightly higher among the employed than among the unemployed.

U. S. Department of Labor. Economic Indicators Relating to Equal Pay. Women's Bureau Pamphlet #9, 1963.

Information on pay differentials for blue-collar and white-collar workers, including separate comparisons for teachers, college graduates, and federal employees.

U. S. Department of Labor. First Jobs of College Women. Report of Women Graduates, Class of 1957. Women's Bureau Bulletin #268, 1959.

This study surveyed almost 88,000 women graduates by mail. Of these, 76% were working full time; 59% were employed as teachers. The study found that women were being adequately encouraged, by salaries and "professional positions," in teaching and in nursing, but not in physical, biological, or social sciences; mathematics; or engineering. The study contains information on age and marital status of the graduates, their undergraduate majors, teacher certification, continuing formal education, the relation of undergraduate majors to first job, salaries, ways in which employment was found, and future employment plans. Thirty-three percent of the single women and 54% of the married women said they planned to stop work when they had children; only 19% and 14%, respectively, planned to have a career.

U. S. Department of Labor. Job Horizons for College Women in the 1960's. Women's Bureau Bulletin #288, 1964.

U. S. Department of Labor. 1965 Handbook on Women Workers. Women's Bureau Bulletin #290, 1965.

Data on characteristics of women workers, including working mothers; work experience; employment of women by occupations and industries; women's income and earnings; education and training; laws governing women's employment and status; federal and state commissions on the status of women; and organizations of interest to women.

In 1965, women constituted 35% of the labor force. Half of the women workers were over 40 years old; almost 40% were 45 or older. One-half of all women 45 to 54 were in the labor force. Almost 3 out of 5 women workers were married; 38% of all women in the labor force had children. Distribution of women by occupation ran as follows: 32%, clerical workers; 16%, service workers; 15%, operatives; 14%, professional and technical workers. Almost 60% of college graduates, but less than one-third of women who had completed grade school only, were in the labor force.

U. S. Department of Labor. Utilization of Women Workers. Excerpted from the 1967 _Manpower Report of the President_.

U. S. Department of Labor. Who Are the Working Mothers? Women's Bureau Leaflet #37, 1963.

A one-page fact sheet, which summarizes statistics concerning the children of working mothers; types of jobs held by working mothers; and the effects on employment of marital status, presence of other relatives in the household, and degree of education. A short bibliography includes readings on child-care arrangements and further studies of employed mothers.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women in the Federal Service, 1939-1959. Women's Bureau Pamphlet #4, 1962 (revised).

Vaughan, M. _The Vassar Institute for Women in Business_. Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969.

Weil, Mildred W. An Analysis of the Factors Influencing Married Women's Actual or Planned Work Participation. _American Sociological Review_, 1961, _26_, 91-96.

Two hundred women were interviewed about their working status, future work plans, and role as a wife. The women were married, with children, living in suburban housing developments; the median income of husbands was $7,900. As compared to women who did not plan to work, women who worked or planned to work were significantly more likely to (a) have husbands with positive attitudes toward their outside employment; (b) have been employed, before marriage, in occupations requiring high educational achievement or specialized training; (c) continue to work after marriage; (d) have husbands who accepted an obligation for child care and household chores; and (e) have children of school age. The following factors showed little relation to planned or actual work participation: differential availability of employment, socioeconomic background, employment before marriage, family debts, and plans to purchase big items.

Weller, R. H. Employment of Wives, Dominance, and Fertility. _Journal of Marriage and the Family_, 1968, _30_, 437-442.

Using survey data collected in predominantly lower- and middle-income neighborhoods of San Juan, Puerto Rico, the author tests three propositions. (1) Participation in the labor force is associated with increased influence by the wife in family decision-making, particularly with respect to having additional children. (2) This increased influence in decision-making is associated with lower fertility among working women. (3) The negative relationship between labor-force status and fertility is stronger among wife-dominant and egalitarian families than among husband-dominant couples. Empirical support is present for each proposition.

White, Martha S. (Ed.) The Next Step: A Guide to Part-Time Opportunities in Greater Boston for the Educated Woman. Cambridge, Mass.: Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, 1964.

An introductory essay explores the situation of the mature woman who wants new opportunities for learning, working, or community service; the essay is followed by detailed information about schools, employment possibilities, and volunteer opportunities in the Boston area. A worksheet, in the form of an open-ended questionnaire, is provided to help a woman evaluate her own possible "next step," considering her family situation, her competencies, and her conflicts.

Winter, Elmer L. Women at Work: Every Woman's Guide to Successful Employment. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967.

Wolfe, Helen Bickel. An Analysis of the Work Values of Women: Implications for Counseling. Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 1969, 33(1), 13-17.

A total of 1,871 usable replies were obtained from a mailed questionnaire designed to study women's work values. All women valued highly the mastery, or achievement, provided by work, and the social aspects of employment. This was true regardless of marital status, age, educational attainment, current employment status, career pattern, socioeconomic class, or field of work. It was found that the value placed on mastery (achievement), dominance (recognition) and economic work values can be predicted through knowledge of a woman's field of work. The value of interesting activity can be predicted from educational attainment and work pattern. Some notable findings include: Married women, as compared with divorced, widowed, separated, or unmarried women, placed the most value on mastery-achievement and had the highest expectations that work be interesting. In the category of age, the oldest women displayed the greatest need for independence and the highest expectation for social rewards from work. In the category of education, women with less education placed a higher value on independence; women with the most education expected the greatest social rewards from work. Women who were employed part-time had higher expectations that work be interesting than women employed full-time. "In some instances, the study showed that women who had never worked had little conception of the world of work. Women who had active roles in the labor market had lower expectations about the intrinsic rewards of work. The extrinsic rewards seemed to become more dominant if a woman had less education or held a job requiring less skill."

Zapoleon, Marguerite. Occupational Planning for Women. New York: Harper, 1961.

III. WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS

Astin, Helen S. The Woman Doctorate in America. New York: Russell Sage, 1969.

This study was undertaken to examine the "common belief that women... will terminate their careers when they get married and have children." It surveyed all the women receiving doctoral degrees in the U.S. in the years 1957 and 1958. Of a total sample of 1,958, 80% replied to the full questionnaire; an additional 6% answered a shortened form of the questionnaire. Six women wrote autobiographical sketches focusing on their education, career development, and family life. Ninety-one percent of the sample were found to be in the labor force, 81% full time. The median length of career interruption for marriage and children was about 14 months; 21% of the women had experienced such an interruption. Other issues examined include personal and family characteristics of the women doctorates, their career development, employment patterns, achievement, and rewards.

Statistical data on all subjects are plentiful. Many of the women studied are in academic life, and thus this study covers many of the same issues discussed in Jessie Bernard, Academic Women (see below). The Woman Doctorate differs in that it constitutes a single large-scale research effort, while Miss Bernard drew on a number of smaller, pre-existant studies for her work; and in that the sample are all women receiving the Ph.D. in a given year, while Miss Bernard chose as her sample women employed in academic life, with and without an advanced degree.

The bibliography will be helpful to those interested in the development of career orientation in girls and young women-- a subject not otherwise covered by the present bibliography.

Bernard, Jessie. Academic Women. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964.

Women who undertake an academic career (a) tend to have their primary work responsibilities in teaching rather than in research; (b) are most commonly found on the faculties of junior colleges, four-year public institutions, and liberal arts colleges, and are infrequently found on the faculties of universities, especially those of high prestige; and (c) tend to cluster in a few fields of study-- education, home economics, physical education for women, nursing, and social service. As regards their personal lives, they usually marry and have children.

The modal picture of these women is that of "a very bright person so far as test-intelligence is concerned, but compliant rather than aggressive; from an above-average social class background; and with a major interest in the humanities." As teachers, they tend to be people who transmit accepted facts in a traditional teaching style, rather than "men of knowledge" who organize research data in controversial or "frontier" fields; in medical schools, for example, women will often teach anatomy, just as in other fields, like languages, they remain at the elementary levels of instruction.

The author comments on several studies that attempt to compare the productivity of male and female academics, and discusses the difficulty of using mere number of publications as an index or productivity. In her commentary on one such study, Bernard says, "The Matched Scientist Study was designed to control as many as possible of the variables known to be related to productivity; namely, subject matter, training, academic position, and length of postdoctoral career....All that can be said is that if enough variables are controlled, sex differences in productivity are reduced almost to insignificance.... What can, however, be said without equivocation is that academic position, not sex, is inextricably related to productivity. Scientists in universities, whatever their sex, are more productive than those in colleges, whatever their sex."

Further, the author notes that college women are much less likely than college men to plan immediate graduate study, regardless of their field, their academic performance, or their marital status.

Bowers, J.Z. Women in Medicine. New England Journal of Medicine, 1966, 275, 362-365.

Gives comparative data on women doctors in other countries and notes that in their liberal arts education as undergraduates, many potential female medical students in America come to think of medicine as a male preserve. The author recommends rearranging medical education, and particularly the schedules of internship and residency, to accomodate students who are mothers. He also suggests having medical centers establish child-care facilities that would make it possible for mothers to continue practice.

Bryan, A. I. and Boring, E. G. Women in American Psychology: Factors Affecting Their Professional Careers. American Psychologist, 1967, 2, 5-60.

The authors sent questionnaires to the 440 American women who took Ph.D.'s in psychology from 1920 to 1940, and also to 440 men matched individually to the women by university and date of Ph.D. They received replies from about 60% of the women and 30% of the men.

Men and women expressed similar criticisms of their graduate training and listed similar fields in which they wished they had had more training. Both men and women were convinced that there was more prejudice against women than against men; but women psychologists are favored for certain positions, such as jobs in schools, guidance centers, etc. The study gives comparative data for men and women on salaries, full-time vs. part-time employment, satisfaction in the profession, amount of professional reading, and participation in professional activities such as meetings.

About 90% of both men and women reported that marriage was fairly satisfying or very satisfying; but only 1/3 of the women reported that marriage was a help to their career, as compared to 3/4 of the men. Twice as many women with part-time employment as women with full-time employment said marriage hindered their career.

Fava, S. The Status of Women in Professional Sociology. American Sociology Review, 1960, 25(2), 271-276.

A statistical compilation (in percent) of degrees in sociology earned by men and women in the U.S. during 1949-1958 compared with the fields of biology, chemistry, economics, education, history, physics, political science, psychology, and social work. Participation of women for the same years, in percentage of articles and book reviews written in the American Journal of Sociology and the American Sociological Review and in papers delivered at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, is compared to the participation of men. The median annual salaries (for 1952) of men and women sociologists by degree and place of employment is also presented. It appears that a rather stable percentage relationship of men to women sociologists exists for the years studied.
--L. P. Chall, Sociological Abstracts.

Frithiof, Patricia. A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Materials Related to Women in Science. University of Lund, Sweden: Research Policy Program, 1957. Mimeographed.

Frithiof, Patricia. Women in Science: A Theoretical Discussion in Preparation for a Field Study of Women Scientists in Sweden. University of Lund, Sweden: Department of Psychology, 1967. Mimeographed.

A review of the literature on (1) scientific achievement by women throughout history; (2) present manpower concerns (citing a decrease in the past 30 years of the percentage of women Ph.D.'s in the sciences); (3) research on scientific creativity; (4) sex differences. The paper was prepared to examine the extreme complexity of developing scientific talent in women, before the author began a study of women graduate students in science and a comparable group of men.

Glatt, Evelyn. Professional Men and Women at Work: A Comparative Study in a Research and Development Organization. Dissertation Abstracts, 1966, 27(2), 1926.

The present study is a comparative investigation of professional women and men at work in a large, defense-based research and development organization. The women are the major focus, and the men provide a base-line for comparison.

The basic questions of the study were developed from a literature review and from an informal discussion group of professional women employed by the organization. The study asked: (1) whether professional men and women shared work motivations and were equally involved in their jobs; (2) whether they were equally rewarded by the organization in terms of advancement; (3) whether they attributed equal value to, were equally satisfied by and experienced similar or differing degrees of conflict between, work and home demands; (4) whether their actual job mobility and mobility values were the same or different; and (5) whether they experienced similar or differing degrees of job satisfactions.

The results pointed overwhelmingly to the underlying similarities between the professional men and women within an organizational culture which provided essentially equal opportunities to both sexes. The major differences arose from the residential immobility of the married professional woman.. Other differences were attributable to occupational group or marital status rather than to sex.
--Author abstract.

Glick, Ruth. Practitioners and Non-Practitioners in a Group of Women Physicians. Dissertation Abstracts, 1966, 26(11), 6845.

The purpose of the study was to identify differences between practitioners and non-practitioners in a group of women physicians, with respect to (1) personal interests as measured by the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, and (2) attitudes and items of background information derived from a questionnaire.

Because of the widespread generalization that homemaking and motherhood preclude a full-time commitment to medicine, the primary comparisons to be made were between practicing mothers and non-practicing mothers. These groups were also then compared with groups of single women physicians, married physicians without children and a group of recent M.D. degree recipients. An unforeseen limitation was the small N of the non-practicing respondents as well as the heterogeneity (with respect to extent and intensiveness of practice) of the relatively large number of part-time practitioners who had not been sufficiently considered at the onset. Comparisons were made among 6 groups; practicing mothers, part-time practicing mothers, non-practicing mothers, single women, married women without children and the recent graduates.

Subjects were 146 respondents out of the total sample of 180 living women physicians graduated from the Western Reserve University School of Medicine between 1923 and 1963 who were asked to participate in the research.

Of the 119 pre-1958 graduates, 73 were in full-time practice, 32 in part-time practice, 9 were non-practitioners and 5 were retired following varying lengths of practice. The 27 younger graduates were not classified either with respect to marital status or motherhood or with respect to extent of practice.

Comparisons of mean Strong scores were made between every possible pair of the 6 sub-samples. On 30 scales there were no significant differences between the practicing mothers and non-practicing mothers, nor between these and any of the other 4 pre-1958 groups. Five specific hypotheses relating to the Strong blank were not supported. On 10 scales, however, highly significant differences were found between the pre-1958 and the post 1958 graduates.

On the variables derived from the opinion, attitude and background information questionnaire there were no significant differences between practicing mothers and non-practicing mothers nor between these and any of the other 4 pre-1958 groups. Four specific hypotheses relating to this data were not supported. There did, however, appear to be certain trends which might have reached significance had the N been larger. On 3 variables significant differences were found between the pre-1958 and the post-1958 graduates.

All of the differences which characterized the post-1958 graduates were in the direction predicted for the non-practicing mothers. These data fit well with the observations of a number of contemporary social analysts that the educated young middle class women in the elite colleges today seem to have lowered their aspirations in so far as the professional and career world is concerned.
--Author abstract.

Harmon, L. R. Profiles of Ph.D.'s in the Sciences. Washington, D. C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1965. Publication #1293.

See especially Chapter 6, "Women Doctorate-Holders."

Kaplan, Helen S. A New Concept of Graduate Training for Women Physicians. Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 1962, October, 820-821.

Description of a residency program in psychiatry adjusted to the scheduling needs of women physicians with children.

Mattfeld, Jacquelyn A. and Van Aken, Carol G. (Eds.) Massachusetts Institute of Technology Symposium on American Women in Science and Engineering. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., 1965.

Contributors include Bruno Bettelheim, Alice Rossi, Jessie Bernard, Lilian Gilbreth, Erik Erikson and others. The symposium explores personal, social, and economic factors involved in a woman's commitment to a professional career.

1960 Census of Population: Characteristics of Professional Workers. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Gives data on women employed professionally and on wives of men in the professions, including percentages of employed wives married to men in given professions. For example: "Only small proportions of the wives of doctors (16%), scientists, engineers, and lawyers are employed (25%); ...44% to 47% of the wives of librarians, social workers, and school teachers are employed."

Power, L., Wiesenfelder, H., and Parmelee, R. C. Preliminary Report of the American Association of Medical Colleges: Practice Patterns of Women and Men Physicians. October 14, 1966. Mimeographed.

Roe, Anne. Women in Science. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1966, 44, 784-787.

Eminent research scientists were questioned about their opinion of women graduate students. Their reactions suggest that women are to some extent disadvantaged in all scientific fields.

Rossi, Alice. Women in Science: Why so Few? Science, 1965, 148, 1196-1202.

Over the period 1950-1960, the rate of increase of women employed in science and engineering was 209%, compared to a rate among men of 428%. Women working in these fields are less likely than men to have advanced degrees, less likely to be employed in industry, and less likely to be married. They earned less money than men and worked fewer hours per week.

This paper includes a discussion of recent work on cognitive differences between males and females, summarizing the work of Eleanor Maccoby and other data on different abilities acquired by boys and girls in childhood and adolescence.

Rossi comments on the increasingly common pattern of women leaving their careers in order to have a family and resuming work later when the children are grown. She sees this pattern as a counter-revolutionary force, one that will tend to perpetuate women's lower achievement in the professions. Older women can be retrained for lower positions, but only rarely as "doctors, full-fledged scientists, or engineers." The peak of one's creative work, she notes, is often in the late twenties and the thirties-- the very period when most women withdraw from work. Women doctors have relatively low withdrawal rates; secondary school teachers and engineers, moderately high; but the withdrawal rate of scientists is even higher than that of teachers.

Rossi cites with approval recent trends in the discussion of working mothers. (1) The tendency now is to show that there are no dire consequences to a child if his mother works, and even to suggest that it may benefit a child to have his mother working. (2) It is generally no longer thought that lower-class children do poorly in school because their mother works, but because the family does not give the child sufficient cognitive stimulation: this observation in itself argues for the establishment of good, professional child-care centers. Further, it may give the child more cognitive stimulation to have his mother working than to have her staying at home and exhorting him about the excitement of learning.

Finally, Rossi cites male conservatism about women's careers as one force that may be hindering women, particularly scientists, in their professional development. "Much larger proportions of college-trained men than women in the NORC career development study believed women should not choose a career difficult to combine with child-rearing, and disapproved of women's working when they have pre-school children. The same men were between two and three times more likely than the women to say there was 'no need at all' for the major recommendations made by the President's Commission on the Status of Women--increased child-care facilities, equal opportunity in hiring and promotion, and encouraging more women to enter the professions and national political office." Rossi suggests that husbands of professional women who are sympathetic to their wives' careers may be of more importance than the women themselves in convincing younger women that it is possible to combine marriage and career.

Simon, Rita J., Clark, Shirley M., and Galway, K. The Woman Ph.D.: A Recent Profile. Social Problems, 1967, 15(2), 221-236.

A study describing the professional characteristics of women, married and unmarried, who have received their Ph.D.'s in four major academic divisions between the years 1958 and 1963, and who are employed full time. These women are compared with men who have received their Ph.D.'s in the same substantive areas and over the same period of time, on such characteristics as type and place of employment, professorial rank, tenure, and salaries. The study also compares productivity, as measured primarily by publications, professional recognition, and identification, among unmarried women, married women, and men with Ph.D.'s. 3,222 women and 1,020 men were studied. It was found that women with Ph.D.'s are different from men who have Ph.D.'s in one very basic respect: over 95% of the men are married, in contrast to only 50% of the women. Men are also more likely to have gotten married before they received their Ph.D.'s than women. An analysis of employment characteristics of the recent woman Ph.D. shows that in two of the fields she is employed at the same kinds of academic institutions as her male colleagues and in most instances she divides her duties between teaching and research in the same way that men do. Women with degrees in education are less likely than men to have administrative posts. However, they earn about $700 less a year than their male colleagues and they are less likely to be promoted or given tenure, especially if they are married. But there are signs that the income differential as well as the slower promotion rate and lack of tenure are decreasing among respondents who received their degrees more recently. In 3 measures of professional recognition it was found that for 2 of them, fellowships and election to honorary societies, women did proportionately better than men. The third measure, travel grants, yielded too small a return to make any comparisons worthwhile.
--E. Weiman, Sociological Abstracts.

Simon, Rita J., Clark, Shirley M., and Tifft, L. L. Of Nepotism, Marriage, and the Pursuit of an Academic Career. Sociology of Education, 1966, 39(4), 344-358.

Part of a larger study of the social and professional characteristics of the woman Ph.D. It is reported that about 15% of the married women with Ph.D.'s believe that their careers have been hurt by anti-nepotism regulations. These regulations, as it turns out, are not barriers to entry into the academic market but are barriers to advancement to gaining tenure and to salaries. The women who claim that their careers are affected by anti-nepotism regulations are as productive as male Ph.D.'s,holding year and field constant, and more productive than other women Ph.D.'s married or unmarried.
--Sociological Abstracts.

White, J. J. Women in the Law. Michigan Law Review, 1967, 65(B), 1051-1122.

The 134 accredited law schools in the country were asked to supply names and addresses of their women graduates for the years 1956-1965 inclusive, plus an equal number of male students' names and addresses. The purpose of the study was to report data on what women lawyers do and what opportunities are available, as well as to compare the women's experience with that of a matched sample of male graduates. 1,298 women and 1,329 men returned usable questionnaires, or 64.8% and 66.4%, respectively, of the sample approached. Kinds of work performed and motives for studying law were among the topics studied. Job profiles and career patterns were also explored-- e.g., incidence of public vs. private employers; size of law firm employing men and women, etc. It was found that men often use government employment as a stepping-stone to private practice; whereas a large proportion of women, about 1/3, find long-term employment in government. As to salaries, it was found that men have higher starting incomes and a faster rate of increase than women. Family background and present family situation were also studied. There was no significant difference between men and women as to whether there was a lawyer in the family; but significantly more than women than men had a female lawyer in their family. 69% of the women and 83% of the men were or had been married. Marriage did not often interfere with women's practicing; childbearing and child care were more frequent reasons for interruption or stopping of practice (27% of women respondents and 24%, respectively). Children were not necessarily an interruption, however, as 28% of the women practicing full time had children, most of them under 7. Married women were found to be earning more money than unmarried women in the corresponding classes.

A large part of the study was devoted to the subject of discrimination. About 50% of the women said they had "certainly or almost certainly" experienced discrimination because of their sex; another 17% felt that they "probably" had. Even so, 94% of the women said they would "do it all over again." Extrapolating from the advice that the respondents would give to female law students, the author says, "It appears...that women have a continuing, perhaps irrational, belief that hard work, good grades, and perseverance will overcome the obstacles which they face, whereas the men are less sanguine" that this is the case. An extensive analysis of discrimination, taking salary as an index of discrimination, is performed, exploring salary differentials by type of employer, type of work, etc. The author suggests a number of avenues of change. He notes that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will not be an especially potent weapon, since cases will be difficult to bring and to prove. He calls for a study of the effectiveness of women lawyers, to discover whether there is any basis for any salary discrimination; he expects that the findings will hardly provide the basis for the extent of discrimination that now exists. Finally, he urges that law schools and their placement services take an active role, and that women lawyers take collective action.

IV. EDUCATION OF WOMEN BEYOND COLLEGE AGE

Beck, Esther L. The Prospect for Advancement in Business of the Married Woman College Graduate. Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 1964, 27(3), 114-119.

In 1963, 62 case studies were done of married women employed in business offices having 100 or more workers, in St. Louis, Missouri and several cities of Indiana. The women had been out of college 5 or more years. Women were located by contacting graduates of the Indiana University School of Business and by canvassing local firms. It was difficult to find women employed on business staffs; among the business school graduates, for example, the typical respondent was an unemployed housewife.

No woman interviewed was holding a position as president, vice-president, or director. Of the women studied, those in top ranks were almost all married to successful men. Among divorcees, early divorce, as opposed to later divorce, accompanied higher achievement in business. Women who had reached the higher ranks showed an outstanding record of continued employment. The women in high-level positions devoted leisure hours to "activities centering around civic and professional interests having direct bearing upon their present positions. Those in the lower-level jobs were more concerned with home-centered projects involving children's school functions or husbands' hobbies."

At every firm studied, there appeared to be a preference that female employees be married. Married women were felt to be more stable than the non-married: they had a better attendance record, and showed a keener sense of responsibility. Moreover, men were felt to be more comfortable working with a married woman.

Education and training received after the undergraduate degree were found to be the most important factors determining degree of advancement in business. The author feels that "women have created their own low image, in part. Too few have been willing to continue studying and preparing for a better job prospect."

Buccieri, C. Continuing Education: If At First You Don't Succeed. College and University Business, 1970, 48(Feb.), 84-86.

Continuing Education for Women: Symposium. Adult Leadership, 1969, 18(May), 5-36.

The Crumbling Cliché of the Too-Bright Girl: Concerning Eli Ginzberg's Study. Life, 1966, 60(May 6), 4.

David, Opal D. The Education of Women: Signs for the Future. Report of a Conference on the Present Status and Prospective Trends of Research on the Education of Women. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1959. 153 pp., Bibliography.

Davis, Natalie Z. *et al.* A Study of Women Who Have Children and Who Are in Graduate Programmes at the University of Toronto. Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto, Canada, 1966. Mimeographed.

Forty-two of the 49 mothers in graduate programs were surveyed. Problems discussed included managing of domestic and academic duties; returning to academic discipline after some years out; financial strain; scheduling of courses at times difficult to get baby-sitters (especially in the late afternoon just before dinnertime); child-care facilities; difficulty or ease of participation in the social and intellectual community of the university; discrimination against women; and husbands' attitudes. The women surveyed recognized that many of the problems they faced were common to all graduate students and resulted from unfortunate aspects of the system of graduate study.

Denmark, Florence L. and Guttentag, M. Dissonance in the Self-Concepts and Educational Concepts of College- and Non-College-Oriented Women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1967, *14*(2), 113-115.

The semantic differential was used to measure the self- and educational concepts of three groups of mature women-- each group characterized by a different degree of commitment and effort in the pursuit of college goals. Results support the following hypotheses: (1) The discrepancy between present and ideal self is inversely related to the time and effort spent in pursuit of a college education; (2) The positive evaluation of goal-related activities will vary directly with the effort expended in this pursuit.
--Journal abstract.

Denmark, Florence, and Guttentag, Marcia. The Effect of College Attendance on Mature Women: Changes in Self-Concept and Evaluation of Student Role. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1966, *69*(1), 155-158.

The semantic differential was used to compare 18 adult women beginning college in an adult continuing education program with a matched, non-college group, on 8 concepts. Initially, the two groups showed similar ideal self-concepts, but the college group evaluated the real self significantly higher. Retest after one semester showed reduced discrepancy between ideal and real self for the college group (as dissonance theory would predict), which reduced discrepancy was accomplished by a reduction in ideal self-concept. The non-college group showed no change. The college group showed a positive shift in evaluation of "student" role, but no shift in "college graduate." The non-college group showed no change.
--Modified author abstract.

Dennis, Lawrence E. (Ed.) *Education and a Woman's Life: The Itasca Conference on the Continuing Education of Women*. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1963.

The Education of Women: Information and Research Notes, Index to Bulletins No. 1-13. Washington, D. C.: The Commission on the Education of Women of the American Council on Education, 1962. Bibliography.

Fields, Ralph R. The Community College Movement. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Community colleges, which generally have non-selective admissions policies and are responsive to the scheduling needs of working students or students with other special demands on their time, are often potentially helpful to women.

Fitzgerald, Laurine E. and Raygor, Alton L. The Minnesota Plan-- Reading and the Returning Adult Coed. Adult Leadership, 1963, 12(Oct.), 101-102.

This Plan is described as "not a college division, or institute, and has no special course of study; it is an advisory and coordinating service," helping women to define and work toward goals, to determine academic aptitude and achievement, and to define interests. Directors of this program have found that mature women returning to study "are often very cautious and over-analytical in their approach to reading"; they read word by word and they refuse to skim, often feeling that such reading techniques result in inadequate comprehension and are sloppy and almost morally reprehensible. They need to be taught that developments in learning to read occur over a lifetime; that one can improve in reading, but that improvement is not a panacea for all academic difficulties. Emphasis in the reading training program steered away from mechanics and concentrated on questions of habits and attitudes.

Foster, R. G. and Wilson, P. P. Women after College: A Study of the Effectiveness of Their Education. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.

Women's education should be concerned with the development of competence in handling problems in the home and problems of a personal and economic nature. Via this kind of higher education, women's duties as homemakers and mothers will be given greater meaning, and the status of this work will be upgraded. Though this work is now almost thirty years old, it is cited here since this point of view continues to be advocated in various ways.

Frank, Lawrence K. A Plea for an Education for Women. Vassar Alumnae Magazine, 1961, May, 1 ff.

Discusses the special relevance for women of contemporary teaching methods that draw upon intuitive and analytical thought processes, such as learning by discovery.

Ginzberg, Eli, and Yohalem, A. M. Educated American Women: Self-Portraits. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

Twenty-six life histories submitted by women in the sample described below, in Ginzberg, Life Studies.

Ginzberg, Eli et al. Life Styles of Educated Women. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

Over 300 women who pursued graduate education between 1945 and 1951 submitted reports about their early lives up to the years before leaving graduate school. Among the major findings of this study is that educated women do not lead constricted and discontented lives, but have many options that permit them to realize whatever goals they wish to set for themselves.

Alice Rossi has criticized this work for dealing with this sample of women as if it were representative of all American women college graduates. Anne Roe praises the work, but has similar, though less strong criticisms: "The very special nature of this sample must be kept firmly in mind, most particularly (as indeed the authors concede) ...because career commitment is certainly stronger...in women who have elected graduate study (completed or not) than in those who have not." Rossi also has criticisms of the questionnaire design and of the social-psychological variables that the study constructs.

Geoffrey, A. R. Educators Report: Adult Project. NCEA Bulletin, 1968, 64(May), 31 ff.

Graduate Education for Women: the Radcliffe Ph.D., a Report by a Faculty-Trustee Committee. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Hafter, Irma. The Comparative Academic Achievement of Women Forty Years and Over and Women Eighteen to Twenty-Five. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961.

The academic achievement of the older women was comparable to that of G I.'s who returned to college after military service. The achievement of both these older groups tends to throw into question ideas about the "best" age for disciplined academic study.

Havighurst, Robert H. and Orr, Betty. Adult Education and Adult Needs. Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education of Adults, 1956.

Hiltunen, W. A. Counseling Course for the Mature Woman. Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 1968, 31(2), 93-96.

A trial, non-credit course was established at Orange Coast College (Evening Division) "designed to guide the woman who, once a full-time homemaker, now wishes to resume her education or to seek full- or part-time employment." The class was oversubscribed, 45 women rather than the desired limit of 35. A questionnaire was administered to the first class. The mean age was 40 (ranging from 23 to 53). One-half of the women had a high-school education; one-half had some college. The main reason for enrolling in the course was "to gain insight into individual interests and abilities and to relate them to additional education or employment."

The course was organized around three themes: "1. Know yourself (interests, aptitudes, and attitudes); 2. Know your community (opportunities...); 3. Know the facts (separate truth from myth)." With respect to the first objective, women were given the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the General Aptitude Test Battery, and the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values. For most women, their ability exceeded their level of aspiration.

Women interviewed one or two local personnel officials, owners of small businesses, or college instructors. This project appeared to have the effect of getting women over the feeling that they were not wanted. "Many appeared to have delayed taking action before the course because of the fear of being ridiculed or rejected during a personal interview." Interviewers found that "employers preferred the mature woman over the younger one," provided she had necessary skills.

Class sessions included the following topics: how and where to apply for a job, writing resumes, completing an application, and interviewing techniques. "A panel of mature women currently enrolled in day classes" discussed matters of adjusting to studying and a different routine, and a similar presentation was made by "mature women in the community who had successfully resumed their education or career after a period of full-time homemaking." A psychologist discussed changing roles of men and women, and "a mature woman from a 'charm school' discussed updating one's personal appearance."

Most students took advantage of optional counseling, a majority did return to school, and several found full-time or part-time jobs.

Jacobson, R. F. New Scholarships for Mature Women: A.W.A.R.E. Helps Women Return to College. Junior College Journal, 1967, 38(Dec.), 34-36.

Junior-college and part-time scholarships are rarely available, and local chapters of A.W.A.R.E. (Association for Women's Active Return to Education) are forming in several states to help provide them. Even modest sums are found to be a morale-booster; they help the older student know someone else is interested in her future. Participants are quoted as reporting that they get much higher grades than they did when in school or college at an earlier age. In the Kentucky mountains women in this program are the first generation of their families to go beyond high school. Junior college scholarships are especially important because women with no previous college education can start at this level.

Johnstone, J.W.C. Continuing Education for Adults. Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1963.

Kerr, W. D. and Johnston, R. L. Self-Actualization for Women through Continuing Education. Adult Leadership, 1964, 13(Dec.), 177-178.

> Describes a program at the University of Illinois Extension Division designed for the "self-actualization" of housewives, rather than for completing a degree or finding employment. The group decided beforehand to remain intact for 4 semesters, and 4 courses were offered in these consecutive semesters: (1) History of American Art and Architecture; (2) Philosophical Ideas; (3) The U.S. and the Sino-Soviet Block in Southeast Asia; (4) Theme and Form in Modern Literature. Tests concerning "broad conceptual knowledge rather than specific factual matters" were administered before and after each course. There was no change after the first course, in art and architecture, but in the other three courses there was a significant improvement in performance. Psychological tests and tests of intellectual ability and interests were also administered before and after the courses; administrators were not surprised to find little or no change in these areas. The participants were upper-middle-class, ages 35 to 45, and well-educated, with interests, values, and activities well established. Participants expressed satisfaction with the program and organized a continuing program with courses in "Comparative Religion" and "Major Issues in American Society."

McNeil, Donald. The University and Adult Education. Adult Education, 1963, 14, 80-85.

Miller, Harry L. Liberal Adult Education. Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1960.

Newcomer, Mabel. A Century of Higher Education for Women. New York: Harper, 1959.

> Chapters 1-8 examine the history of women's higher education; chapters 9-12, the effectiveness of colleges in preparing women for their life's work. The book criticizes certain kinds of vocational-training "busy work." The combination of liberal arts with sound vocational training that will lead to the employment of the liberal arts graduate will probably contribute most to preparation for a professional career later in life. Includes data on the production of scholars, writers, and artists by women's colleges.

Part-Time Studies for Young Wives: Girls Leaving Too Soon. (London) Times Educational Supplement, 1968, 2792(Nov. 22), 1148.

Perloff, E. The Education of Women: General References, 1950-1961. Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University, 1961.

President's Commission on the Status of Women. Report of the Committee on Education. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

Gives data and references on programs of vocational and liberal education for adults, including literacy training. Discusses adaptations schools will have to make to serve the needs of mature women. Describes specific programs designed for women, at many colleges. Urges the creation of programs to prepare women for fields "where their aptitudes and urgent social needs coincide," such as "teaching, guidance, mental health, health services generally, and the sciences," as well as in the humanities, in which the need for trained people "is scarcely defined." Urges that researchers study "how and whether the flexibility in training and employment needed by women is inimical to the work of particular professions."

Desirability of "states developing reciprocity of pension plans as well as certification requirements, so that the inevitable geographic mobility of married women does not mean the loss of able teachers." Development of "television and programmed courses to meet basic teacher certification requirements common to most states."

Bibliography: "Selected Bibliography on Women's Education and Careers," prepared by the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study.

Rioch, Margaret. Training the Mature Woman for a Professional Role. AAUW Journal, 1962, 55, 236-239.

An experimental training program showing that mature women with varied earlier experience can become very adequate psychotherapists. "Women who manage families and raise children have to be concerned with people, their development, their problems. Many women emerge from this training ground in interpersonal relations with considerable skill in deciphering unspoken messages, in handling tensions, and in helping people to develop their potentialities. And just as they are becoming experts, the children go away to college and have little, if any, further need of them."

Schlemann, Helen B. Educational Planning for Wives of Men Students. Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 1969, 33(1), 23-26.

The author questions whether the custom of wives' putting husbands through school is "good for the man student, for the wife, for the family, or even for the marriage." She cites Margaret Mead as quoted in a Life article (not otherwise identified): "There are a large number of marriages of college graduates that break up between the ages of 25 and 35 and especially when they have married before going on to professional school together. We find there is a tremendous amount of breakup at the time the men get their professional degrees. Their wives have helped support them usually, and they have pushed them to study and finish the same way parents do when they are supporting a child. The result is that the wife gets pigeonholed with the parents. These husbands don't feel any more guilty about leaving their wives than they do when they leave their parents."

The author reports on a preliminary study of student wives at Purdue University in 1961. Questionnaires were sent to the wives of nearly 2,400 married men students; there was a 50% response. Only 12% of the women were taking any courses at Purdue, and only 2.6% were taking a full-time load. The Faculty Committee on the Education of Women and the Dean of Women's Office attempted to encourage student wives to take courses by having more courses scheduled at night and by providing some money to make small grants. The author questions whether providing funds for babysitting would be desirable. She feels that husbands ought not to regard their wives' education as something which is "all right" only if it does not interfere with their own education. She suggests, half-humorously, "a demand...that no university-owned apartment be assigned to a married man student unless his wife is also enrolled in at least one university course for credit."

Sontag, L. W. and Kibler, M. O. Personality and Other Correlates of I.Q. Change in Women. In J. E. Birren (Ed.), Relations of Development and Aging. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1961.

Stern, Bernard H. Never Too Late for College: the Brooklyn Degree Program for Adults. Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1963.

Still, E. Tribulations and Advantages of Being a Mature Student. (London) Times Educational Supplement, 1968, 2777(August 9), 258 ff.

Woody, Thomas. History of Women's Education in the United States. New York: Octagon Press, 1966.

Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

The Questionnaire (reproduced as Appendix II) was mailed in the first half of 1968 to 698 Stanford University and 245 Santa Rosa Junior College alumnae. The overall response rate for Stanford is 71% and for Santa Rosa, 58%.[1]

The Stanford samples were obtained from alphabetical lists of names and addresses of Stanford alumnae, arranged by class. Eight classes were used: 1939, 40, 45, 46, 53, 54, 61 and 62. Women who did not complete four years were included in the listing. The first sampling of 75 from each of the eight class lists was obtained by selecting every nth name, n being the number of women listed in each class divided by 75 ($n=\frac{t}{75}$). Two variables were chosen for special consideration: marital status (i.e., single vs. married women, married including divorced and widowed) and amount of education, that is, whether or not at least a bachelor's degree was held. Oversampling was done to insure that at least 20 single women and 20 women without a bachelor's degree were included in each class sample. In all but the last two classes, more single women were added by selecting every nth single woman, n being the total number of single women in each class before sampling divided by the number of single women needed to make 20 ($n=\frac{t}{20-x}$). For two classes, 1961 and 1962, women without bachelor's degrees were oversampled by selecting the first non-graduate name on every nth page, n being the number of pages of the listing divided by the number of non-graduates needed (for example, if 3 more non-graduates were needed to make 20 from a class list consisting of 45 pages, the first non-graduate on every 15th page would be taken). It should be noted that since the two variables were not mutually exclusive, a direct oversampling of one resulted in a lesser indirect oversampling of the other (see parenthetical numbers in the table following).

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[1] The response rate for Stanford is calculated on the basis of returned and usable questionnaires. It would be even higher if it included questionnaires returned to us by the post office and questionnaires presumably not reaching their addressees. At Santa Rosa, 87 of the 245 questionnaires were returned to us by the post office. The response rate is based on subtracting 87 from 245. The remaining 158 presumably also include a number of questionnaires that did not reach their addressees.

Using the forementioned methods, the following sample was obtained:

	Total	Single	No Bachelor's Degree
1939	95	28(20)*	26(3)*
1940	94	26(19)	33(8)
1945	88	20(13)	29(4)
1946	88	20(13)	31(4)
1953	84	20 (9)	20(3)
1954	86	20(11)	21(1)
1961	84	21 (4)	20(9)
1962	79	30 (1)	20(4)
	698	186	200

* The numbers in parentheses signify those single women or women without degrees who were obtained through direct or indirect oversampling.

We selected pairs of two adjacent classes (39 and 40, 45 and 46, 53 and 54, 61 and 62) to determine whether there might be idiosyncratic differences between some or all adjacent classes. Tests for differences between the adjacent classes were made on 26 items. Out of a possible 104 differences only 4 were found to be statistically significant. (One difference was between 39 and 40; one between 45 and 46, and two between 61 and 62.) We therefore lumped each of the pairs of adjacent classes together and thus constituted four separate age groups: (1) 39-40, (2) 45-46, (3) 53-54, (4) 61-62.

The procedures for Santa Rosa were similar to those for Stanford. But because of the samller number of alumnae a larger number of adjacent classes were lumped together and no tests of the differences between adjacent classes could be performed. The groups breakdown is as follows: (1) 39-42, (2) 43-47, (3) 48-56, (4) 57-63.

The response rates for Stanford and Santa Rosa divided by age groups are given on the next page.

The questionnaire responses were transferred on coding sheets. In checking the reliability of the coders, questions that required a simple check were distinguished from those that required a verbal statement. On the simple check items raters' disagreement was 1.1%, mostly due to ambiguous responses. The verbal responses involved listings of occupations, training programs, courses taken in school, academic major, and the like. Percentages of disagreement were much higher. This is mitigated by the fact that disagreements were mainly in regard to responses at the borderlines of two adjacent classifications. Nevertheless, the responses to the verbal parts of the questions ought to be taken only as approximations.

Response Rates for Stanford and Santa Rosa by Age Groups

	STANFORD			SANTA ROSA	
	Number of Questionnaires			Number of Questionnaires	
	Mailed	Received and Used		Mailed	Received and Used
39-40	189	127 (67%)	39-42	31	16 (52%)
45-46	176	112 (64%)	43-47	43	20 (46%)
53-54	170	128 (75%)	48-56	31	20 (46%)
61-62	163	127 (78%)	57-63	53	35 (66%)
	698	494 (71%)		158*	91 (58%)

*This figure excludes the questionnaires mailed and returned to us undelivered.

In the tabulations that follow, distributions of responses are given in the order in which the items appeared in our questionnaire. Wherever the differences between our four age groups at Stanford and Santa Rosa are not statistically significant ($p < .10$), only the totals for all four age groups are given.

	STANFORD					SANTA ROSA				
	Total	'39-'40	'45-'46	'53-'54	'61-'62	Total	'39-'42	'43-'47	'48-'56	'57-'63
	(494)	(127)	(112)	(128)	(127)	(91)	(16)	(20)	(20)	(35)
1. What was your undergraduate major?										
Humanities	17	13	26	16	13	10				
Social Sciences	15	19	14	15	11	1				
English & Journalism	13	12	9	11	21	7				
Physical Sciences	12	17	11	6	13	12				
History	10	7	1	13	17	2				
Education	9	7	6	19	3	21				
Nursing or Physical Therapy	9	4	16	5	9	22				
Foreign Languages	6	12	5	5	4	0				
Fine Arts	6	6	8	7	5	3				
Other or none	22	3	4	4	3	21				
				$p < .001$						
2. How many years of college did you complete and what degrees do you hold?										
Two years or less	6	8	6	7	4	14				
AA degree	1	2	0	2	0	34				
Three or four years/ no degree	7	6	15	2	7	11				
Bachelors	64	67	58	65	65	37				
Masters	18	11	17	24	20	2				
M.D. or Ph.D.	4	7	5	0	4	0				
				$p = .004$						
3. Your masters, Ph.D., or other higher degree is in what field?										
Humanities, Languages, Fine Arts, History	21	30	17	27	10	100				
Social Sciences	9	9	22	3	7	0				
Education	42	17	22	57	60	0				
Medicine	10	26	13	0	7	0				
Other	18	17	26	13	17	0				
				$p = .04$						
4. Have you had any other formal training or schooling (including on-the-job training) since the end of your undergraduate years?										
Yes	71					67				

4. (continued)

If yes, what was the training or schooling? (Two different answers could be coded for each respondent.)

	FIRST RESPONSE					SECOND RESPONSE	FIRST RESPONSE
	Total	Classes				Total	
	(339)	(94)	(70)	(93)	(82)	(110)	(59)
Lower-level business	20	35	16	16	12	5	12
Higher-level business	5	10	3	5	2	9	2
Graduate field	17	10	19	25	17	13	10
For teaching credential	13	14	16	10	15	9	7
Teaching skills	6	3	1	14	6	9	10
School subjects	12	8	10	15	16	19	17
Lower-level professional	5	4	7	2	7	2	8
Higher-level professional	10	7	10	8	17	12	25
Fine arts	8	7	14	3	5	19	5
Other	2	1	4	2	0	3	3

$p < .001$

Institution from which training was received:

FIRST RESPONSE	(230)	(62)	(49)	(62)	(57)		(34)
College, other degree programs	53	37	59	56	60		62
On-the-job training	23	23	12	27	26		18
Business-operated schools	10	21	12	5	4		8
Extension or summer school	10	15	6	11	7		6
Other	4	5	9	0	4		6

p = .004

5. Are you currently enrolled in any courses or training program?

Yes	23	16	25	20	31	27

p = .03

If yes, what courses or programs?

	(105)	(22)
Business training	57	9
Fine arts	27	14
School subjects	21	36
Graduate field	19	9
Professional	12	18
Teaching credentials or skills	10	5
Other	6	9

5. (continued)

Institution in which training:

	(63)	(14)
College, other degree program	46	50
College extension	24	36
Business-operated school or on-the-job	14	7
Other	16	7

6. In the last five years have you taken any adult education, university extension, or other courses or training (such as sewing, calculus, Spanish, pottery, piano, bridge, or skiing lessons, etc.)?

Number of courses taken		
None	20	34
1,2	30	31
3-5	28	10
6-10	11	5
11 or more	10	7

Please list the subject areas of these courses:

	(390)*	(60)*
Art and crafts, appreciation of or doing it	23	15
Athletics	13	7
Foreign language	11	11
Lectures: philosophy, literature, etc.	9	7
Home-arts: cooking, sewing, etc.	9	13
Social skills: bridge, dancing, etc.	7	3
Standard academic classes	6	9
Occupational skills for teachers	5	11
Occupational skills for non-teachers	4	9
Business courses	5	7
Other	8	10
(Number of items)*	(905)*	(122)*

*In this table and in some subsequent tables, more than one answer was allowed for each respondent--the number of respondents at the top of a column is the number of people giving one or more answers and the number of items at the bottom of the column is the number of coded answers from which the percentages are derived.

7. As you think of your present educational needs, please check an answer for each item to indicate whether it is a need which is already met, or a need which is not met, or not a need now.

A. Courses or training to further your education, but not for the sake of a career.

Need met	22					14				
Need not met	42					46				
Not a need now	36					39				

B. Courses or training primarily to gain greater self-understanding and understanding of other people.

Need met	23					28				
Need not met	34					41				
Not a need now	43					31				

C. Courses or training to allow you to resume a career that you either trained for or did pursue.

Need met	16	16	15	15	19	23	6	17	21	38
Need not met	13	10	23	13	7	17	0	17	26	17
Not a need now	71	74	62	71	74	60	94	67	53	44
		p = .03						p = .03		

D. Courses or training to prepare you for a new career.

Need met	10					15				
Need not met	19					18				
Not a need now	71					66				

E. Aptitude tests that would help tell you where your special strengths are.

Need met	16					14				
Need not met	18					22				
Not a need now	66					65				

8. At any time since the end of your school years did you seriously desire to continue your education, but did not do so?

Yes	45					57	75	70	30	57
								p = .02		

If yes, what were your reasons for not continuing?

A. Insufficient funds

	(189)	(40)
Important reason	37	58
Minor reason	23	28
Not a reason	40	15

B. Husband not encouraging

	(181)	(40)	(42)	(51)	(48)	(35)
Important reason	11	10	12	20	0	11
Minor reason	15	28	12	10	12	3
Not a reason	75	63	76	71	88	86

p = .01

C. Needing to take care of your children

	(200)	(44)
Important reason	65	66
Minor reason	9	7
Not a reason	27	27

D. Needing to devote yourself to your husband

	(188)	(41)
Important reason	35	29
Minor reason	21	22
Not a reason	44	49

E. Very tired of going to school

	(183)	(39)
Important reason	7	15
Minor reason	15	18
Not a reason	79	67

F. Doubts about your ability

	(182)	(43)
Important reason	16	26
Minor reason	17	19
Not a reason	65	56

G. The attitudes of your parents

	(179)	(37)
Important reason	3	5
Minor reason	6	3
Not a reason	92	92

H. The attitudes of your friends

	(179)	(38)
Important reason	2	0
Minor reason	4	5
Not a reason	93	95

9. From the time that you ended your undergraduate education to the present day, have you had any paid employment?

Yes	92	98

Did you have paid employment

A. Between 21 and 40 hours per week:

	(437)	(108)	(93)	(117)	(114)	(78)	(15)	(18)	(10)	(34)
Never	1	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	3
One year or less	15	15	11	15	18	8	0	6	0	18
2-5 years	45	30	38	44	67	44	33	28	60	41
6-9 years	15	11	18	19	12	19	7	28	5	35
10-14 years	11	12	14	20	0	8	7	11	25	0
15-19 years	3	9	2	2	0	10	20	11	10	3
20 years or more	9	22	15	1	0	10	33	17	0	0
			$p < .001$					$p < .01$		

B. 20 hours or less per week:

	(206)	(40)
Never	25	33
One year or less	34	23
2-5 years	34	38
6-9 years	4	3
10 years or more	3	5

10. What is (was) your present or most recent paid employment?

		(452)	(112)	(102)	(123)	(115)	(89)
Secretarial, clerical		24	35	21	24	17	24
Elementary school teacher	11	1	9	20	12	17	
Junior/Senior high teacher	7	8	4	7	8	3	
Junior college teacher or college teacher	4	3	4	2	6	0	
Teacher, undefined	3	4	2	2	4	4	
Creative-artistic	10	6	15	12	8	1	
Service or worker	8	4	5	7	17	10	
"People helping": social worker, youth leader, etc.	6	8	7	2	6	3	
Nursing, (physical therapy, speech pathology, etc.)	6	3	9	7	6	22	
Low management	6	6	6	5	5	4	
Mid or high management	3	8	1	2	0	0	
Sales or employed	4	3	5	5	5	6	
Miscellaneous professional	4	4	6	4	2	3	
Masters or Ph.D. working in business	2	1	3	2	1	0	
Physician or dentist	2	4	3	0	2	0	
Lawyer or judge	0	0	1	0	1	0	
Other	1	3	0	0	0	1	
			$p < .001$				

11. What is (was) the paid employment you held for the longest amount of time?

	(448)	(111)	(101)	(122)	(114)	(87)
Secretarial, clerical	23	33	19	26	15	24
Elementary school teacher	12	2	11	21	11	18
Junior/senior high teacher	8	8	4	7	11	3
Junior college or college teacher	3	1	4	2	4	0
Teacher, undefined	3	4	1	3	4	3
Creative, artistic	10	8	15	10	7	0
Nurse (also therapies)	8	5	10	7	10	25
Service or worker	8	5	5	5	18	10
Low management	6	6	7	6	6	2
Middle or high management	3	9	1	1	0	0
"People helping": social worker, youth leader, etc.	4	4	7	2	6	3
Miscellaneous professional	4	3	7	3	2	5
Physician or dentist	2	5	3	0	2	0
Masters or Ph.D. working in business	2	1	2	2	1	0
Sales or employed	1	3	3	4	4	5
Lawyer	0	0	1	0	1	0
Other	3	4	1	0	0	0

$p < .001$

12. What are or were the reasons for your working?

A. To provide all or most of the income for yourself or your family.

	(438)	(82)
Important reason	53	46
Minor reason	8	15
Not a reason	39	39

B. To make the life of your family financially more comfortable, to afford a better life style.

	(415)	(80)	(13)	(15)	(18)	(34
Important reason	25	40	15	53	67	29
Minor reason	26	33	38	7	11	53
Not a reason	49	28	46	40	22	18

$p = .002$

C. To help finance educational opportunities for your children.

	(95)	(87)	(115)	(110)	(78)				
Important reason	19	18	9	5	19				
Minor reason	11	11	9	5	18				
Not a reason	71	70	83	91	63				

$p = .003$

D. To have a chance to spend some time outside of the house.

	(402)				(75)				
Important reason	21				16				
Minor reason	20				35				
Not a reason	59				49				

E. To be of service to people other than your own family.

	(413)				(81)				
Important reason	34				44				
Minor reason	27				26				
Not a reason	39				29				

F. To be with and work together with other people.

	(422)				(80)	(13)	(15)	(19)	(33)
Important reason	47				39	23	47	32	45
Minor reason	29				38	31	20	63	33
Not a reason	24				24	46	33	5	21

$p = .05$

G. To occupy your time.

	(413)				(76)	(12)	(14)	(18)	(32)
Important reason	31				13	8	15	0	22
Minor reason	23				32	17	8	56	33
Not a reason	46				55	75	77	44	44

$p < .05$

H. To have a sense of independence.

	(421)				(80)				
Important reason	43				38				
Minor reason	25				25				
Not a reason	32				38				

I. To develop yourself as a person.

	(422)				(81)	(13)	(16)	(19)	(33)
Important reason	53				44	23	38	32	64
Minor reason	24				25	23	25	42	15
Not a reason	23				31	54	38	26	21

$p < .05$

13. How important was your college experiences in your paid employment? (If you had several jobs, answer for the job that you held for the longest period of time.)

A. The bachelor's degree was the employer's condition for hiring.

	(429)	(104)	(95)	(119)	(111)	(70)	(12)	(14)	(18)	(26)
Yes	57	45	58	63	61	40	17	29	61	42
		p = .03						p = .08		

B. Your work, in your opinion, could have been done by someone who had not gone to college.

Yes	40					51				

C. You used specific skills acquired in academic courses.

Yes	63					75	43	80	89	76
								p = .02		

D. You used specific skills acquired in extracurricular activities.

Yes	40	49	49	33	32	34
			p = .01			
Which?	(153)	(47)	(35)	(36)	(35)	(22)
Intellectual, artistic	24	13	23	28	37	31
Instrumental: typing, shorthand	17	30	14	11	11	4
Human relations	44	36	37	53	51	43
Other	14	21	26	8	0	22
			p = .005			

14. In the last five years have you been engaged in work OTHER THAN homemaking and paid employment (for instance, community, volunteer work, alumni activities, etc.)?

Yes	75	77	81	76	65	66
			p = .03			

If yes, please name them

	(349)	(91)	(87)	(94)	(77)	(53)
Youth group; YMCA, Four-H, etc.	13	9	12	16	14	18
Hospital volunteer	8	11	9	5	4	11
Red Cross, March of Dimes, etc.	11	14	13	6	9	7
Auxillaries, helping groups, social work	18	22	15	19	18	11
Political group or campaign	9	5	7	11	17	7
PTA	9	10	13	13	1	17
Religious groups	13	13	12	12	16	18
Alumni group	8	5	7	10	11	6
Others	10	12	12	8	9	4
(Number of items:)	(804)	(230)	(208)	(214)	(152)	(99)

15. Did you participate in any alumni educational programs during the last five years?

Yes	14					1

If yes, please list them

	(66)
Alumni Day	27
Alumni Summer College	5
Stanford Clubs	45
Other campus activities	2
Can't code	14
Alumni group other than Stanford	8

16. If available now, would you participate in the following alumni educational programs?

A. courses or seminars on campus lasting at least one week and not more than a month.

Yes	16	24	16	12	12	27
			p = .05			

B. Courses or seminars in your own home community lasting at least one weekend.

Yes	55					59

C. Lectures or lecture series in your own home community.

Yes	73	65	72	77	79	71
			p = .05			

D. Alumni colleges abroad or some special off-campus location in the United States.

Yes	14					15

E. Courses by correspondence directed by your alma mater for credit.

Yes	38	31	30	39	49	39
			p .01			

F. Courses by correspondence directed by your alma mater not for credit.

Yes	40	34	36	40	50	25
			p = .05			

If you checked NO in all the above items please give us your reasons.

Not enough time	28	25
Kids, family need me too much	18	29
Not able to leave home	11	7
Can get any desired education elsewhere	11	18
Don't care at all	9	7
Costs too much	6	4
Others	19	11

17. Do you have paid employment now?

Yes	43	60

If NO, are you preparing yourself or planning for paid work in the:

	(247)	(62)	(60)	(64)	(61)	(29)
A. Near future yes	15	13	27	8	13	28
			p = .02			
B. More Distant	(234)	(59)	(48)	(69)	(58)	(27)
future-yes	29	19	21	36	36	30
			p = .05			

18. If you do not have paid employment now, which statements describe your situation?

A. You like to give your family your full attention.

	(257)	(61)	(56)	(76)	(64)	(34)
Yes	80	64	79	87	88	79
			p = .003			

B. You would like to work but have found no appropriate employment.

	(249)	(59)	(53)	(74)	(63)	(31)
Yes	10	17	19	7	2	19

p = .005

C. A job is unattractive to you.

	(249)	(32)
Yes	29	11

D. Your husband's general attitude is that you should not have a job.

	(24[illegible]	(31)
Yes	[illegible]	42

E. You will seek employment when your family situation allows you more time.

	(245)	(60)	(49)	(74)	(62)	(29)
Yes	48	25	47	50	69	59

$p < .001$

19. Do you wish college had prepared you more for having an occupation?

Yes	29	24

20. Have you yourself experienced any employer discrimination practices?

A. Employer prejudices against hiring a woman.

Yes	11	5

B. Differential salaries for men and women with same training and experience.

Yes	21	15	31	21	5

p = .04

C. Differential sex policies regarding tenure, seniority and promotions.

Yes	16	10

D. Unwillingness and reservations by employer to delegate administrative responsibility to women employees.

Yes	18	11

21. How important do you think it is for your own self-fulfillment to have a career in addition to being a wife and mother?

	(458)	(110)	(100)	(123)	(125)	(87)
Very important	24	23	21	22	29	29
Important	27	23	26	32	26	31
Neutral	20	20	21	13	27	21
Unimportant	17	21	24	18	9	10
Very unimportant	12	14	8	15	10	9

p = .04

22. List one or two or three capabilities of yours from any and all areas of your life that you are particularly satisfied with and that you acquired since you were an undergraduate. If you can, list when, where, and how you acquired them.

	(399)	(100)	(88)	(106)	(105)	(63)
Homemaking, cooking, etc.	20	18	20	17	22	24
Business, bookkeeping, organizing	16	15	15	17	11	21
Deal with, understand people	18	20	14	18	16	16
Artistic, editorial, etc.	15	15	20	14	17	14
Teaching ability	9	4	5	8	8	5
Deal with, understand children	9	1	9	12	9	11
Athletics, sports	3	10	4	4	5	2
Other	11	17	12	10	13	7
(Number of items:)	(893)	(224)	(183)	(248)	(218)	

HOW ACQUIRED

	(376)					(56)
Just"doing it"	26					22
Classes, training	21					24
At work	18					15
In groups, committees	12					6
At home	12					4
"Living", "being older", etc.	7					1
Other	8					6
(Number of items:)	(767)					(143)

23. When were you born?

Before 1922	134	125	5	4	0	20	15	1	0	
1922-27	106	0	106	0	0	19	1	15	2	
1928-33	123	0	0	122	1	24	0	3	18	
After 1933	108	0	0	0	108	27	0	0	0	2

24. Are you

Caucasian	99					98
Oriental	1					2

25. What is your religion now?

Protestant	42	43	46	40	37	59
High Church Protestant	16	20	19	11	13	0
None, Agnostic, Atheist	22	17	13	24	32	14
Catholic	12	13	13	13	9	20
Humanist	5	3	3	9	5	1
Jewish	3	2	4	2	3	1
Fundamentalist	1	0	0	2	1	3
Other	1	0	2	1	1	1

$p = .09$

26. Which of the following is closest to your present political leanings?

Liberal Republican	36	46	31	37	30	19
Conservative Republican	29	33	40	25	20	27
Liberal Democrat	14	8	13	15	21	21
Conservative Democrat	5	4	6	5	6	16
Liberal Independent	10	8	5	11	15	6
Conservative Independent	4	1	4	4	6	6
Socialist	1	1	2	2	1	0
None/other	1	0	0	2	1	4

$p = .02$

Which was closest in your last undergraduate year?

Liberal Republican	26	25	17	31	29	14
Conservative Republican	38	47	46	33	28	25
Liberal Democrat	16	11	11	20	21	22
Conservative Democrat	8	6	11	5	10	19
Liberal Independent	4	4	4	2	5	7
Conservative Independent	2	0	4	2	2	4
Socialist	1	1	3	2	0	2
None/other	5	5	4	6	6	7

$p = .05$

27. When you were in college, what was your father's occupation?

Low management	10					15
Middle management	18					9
High management	6					0
Engineer	10					2
Physician	9					1
Lawyer	6					0
Miscellaneous business jobs	6					1
Employed, skill required	5					3
Worker	3					25
College teacher	3					0
Military Officer	2					1
Sales	2					3
Service	1					7
Other	12					19
None, deceased, retired, etc.	9					14

28. Did your mother have paid employment at any time in her life?

Yes	70	57	64	76	82	80

$p < .001$

If yes, what type of paid employment at which of the following periods:

A. Before she was married

	(317)	(65)	(61)	(96)	(95)	(67)
Yes	88	88	97	90	82	81

$p = .05$

	(232)					(47)
Teacher/Elementary/HS	40					30
College teacher	2					0
Secretarial, office worker	29					21
Nurse	7					2
Creative	6					6
Service or worker	6					27
Sales	3					6
Other business	4					4
People helping: Social worker, etc.	2					0
Other	4					0

B. After marriage, but before children										
	(259)	(45)	(37)	(87)	(90)	(59)	(12)	(10)	(14)	(23
Yes	35	13	27	40	45	32	8	0	29	61
			$p < .001$					$p < .001$		
	(81)					(14)				
Teacher/Elementary/HS	30					29				
College teacher	5					0				
Secretary	23					29				
Nurse	9					0				
Creative	9					7				
Service or Worker	6					21				
Sales	6					7				
Other business	4					7				
People helping	5					0				
Other	4					0				
C. Children below 12										
	(259)					(59)				
Yes	41					46				
	(89)					(19)				
Teacher/elementary/HS	31					16				
College teacher	2					0				
Secretary	15					16				
Nurse	7					5				
Creative	7					0				
Service or worker	13					47				
Sales	7					11				
Other business	12					0				
People helping	6					0				
Other	1					5				
D. Children above 12, but still living at home										
	(269)					(57)				
Yes	51					65				
	(111)					(31)				
Teacher/elementary/HS	27					13				
College Teacher	3					0				
Secretarial, office worker	13					26				
Nurse	8					3				
Creative	7					3				
Service or worker	14					32				
Sales	7					3				
Other business	13					13				
People helping	5					0				
Other	4					3				

E. After children had left home.

	(263)					(59)				
Yes	57					69	54	45	73	90

p = .04

	(118)	(36)
Teacher/elementary/HS	27	14
College teacher	2	0
Secretarial, office worker	16	11
Nurse	6	6
Creative	5	6
Service or worker	16	47
Sales	6	3
Other business	16	11
People helping	3	0
Other	3	3

29. Are You:

Single	14	16	15	9	15	12
Married	77	72	71	82	83	76
Separated/Divorced	9	13	13	8	2	6
Widowed	0	0	1	1	0	6

p = .02

Note: the above is a description of our sample, in which we attempted to make for the older alumnae the number of unmarried women greater than their proportion on the Stanford alumni roles in order to assure a large enough sample of unmarried women for generalization. The percentage of unmarried women on the Stanford alumni roles is presented below. The percentage of '61-'62 single women in our sample is much smaller. This in part reflects recent marriages not yet recorded on the alumni roles.

Married or formerly married	84	86	90	88	73
Never married	16	14	10	12	27

30. How many years have you been married to your present husband?

Years	(386)	(93)	(82)	(106)	(105)	(71)	(14)	(15)	(13)	(29
1-2	8	4	2	8	14	7	0	0	0	17
3-5	12	5	4	4	34	18	7	0	0	41
6-10	20	0	5	17	51	15	7	13	15	21
11-15	20	6	9	62	0	16	14	0	69	3
16-20	12	9	34	8	0	21	14	60	15	7
21-25	15	23	43	0	0	10	21	27	0	0
26 or more	14	53	3	1	0	11	36	0	0	10

Is this your first marriage?

	(387)	(94)	(81)	(106)	(106)	(70)
Yes	90	83	86	93	96	96

$p = .006$

31. How many children do you have?

None	25	22	19	21	36	27
1	11	6	6	9	24	11
2	29	31	24	27	35	31
3	19	24	23	26	5	22
4	10	13	21	6	0	5
5 or more	6	5	7	11	0	3

$p < .001$

How old is your youngest child?

	(368)	(98)	(90)	(101)	(79)	(64)	(11)	(16)	(15)	(22)
Below 6 years	37	0	7	53	97	30	0	25	33	45
6-10	21	7	37	36	3	28	9	31	60	14
11-16	24	44	38	10	0	25	27	44	7	23
17 or older	18	49	19	1	0	17	63	0	0	18

$p < .001$ $p < .001$

32. What is your husband's present occupation?

	(397)	(98)	(83)	(111)	(105)	(72)
Middle/high management	23	24	29	24	17	17
Low management	8	5	16	8	5	10
Lawyer	10	10	10	11	10	0
Engineer	9	7	5	14	10	4
Physician, Dentist	9	11	12	6	8	4
Employed, requires skill	8	8	8	6	8	7
Master's or Ph.D. in business, government	6	3	5	8	6	1
College teacher	6	3	5	5	12	0
Miscellaneous professional	4	5	1	4	4	4
Creative	3	6	1	1	2	0
Worker	2	4	0	1	2	15
Military Officer	2	4	4	1	1	0
Teacher/elementary/HS	2	1	0	3	3	8
Other business	2	3	0	2	4	1
Service	0	0	0	1	0	6
Other	4	2	5	4	8	15
None, deceased, retired, etc.	1	2	0	1	2	6

$p < .10$

33. A job that takes at least 20 hours per week of a mother's time is not in the best interest of her child, if her child is

	(430)	(104)	(100)	(115)	(111)	(76)
Below 3 years	11	6	12	10	17	9
Below 6 years	26	19	26	31	28	21
Below 10 years	10	14	7	10	9	11
Below 13 years	8	16	7	5	4	8
Below 17 years	14	18	16	10	13	14
Between 6-14	12	13	12	14	10	25
Other	5	6	9	4	5	5
"Can't answer"	12	7	10	16	15	6

$p = .004$

34. What is your health at the present time?

Excellent	54	52	40	58	64	45
Very good	30	30	35	28	26	34
Good	13	11	17	13	9	18
Fair or Poor	4	7	8	1	1	3

$p = .01$

35. To what extent have the following been sources of dissatisfaction for you during the last one or two years?

A. Not enough time.

Much	47	47	53	47	42	45	31	70	56	4
Moderately	34	28	28	41	37	41	50	30	33	4
Little or not at all	20	25	19	13	22	14	19	0	11	14

$p = .07$

B. Boredom.

Much	5	3	7	2	9	2
Moderately	18	13	16	17	25	21
Little or not at all	77	84	78	82	67	76

$p = .02$

C. Constant interruptions.

Much	15	10	14	19	15	14
Moderately	39	33	43	46	34	34
Little or not at all	46	57	44	35	50	52

$p = .03$

D. Children's needs.

Much	4					4
Moderately	24					27
Little or not at all	72					69

E. Husband's needs.

Much	3					4
Moderately	12					24
Little or not at all	85					73

F. Not enough friends.

Much	4	3	4	4	6	1
Moderately	21	15	22	16	30	18
Little or not at all	75	83	75	80	64	81

p = .04

G. No employment.

Much	2					1
Moderately	6					5
Little or not at all	91					94

H. Not enough intellectual or artistic activities.

Much	11					12
Moderately	38					32
Little or not at all	51					56

I. Not enough fun.

Much	8					9
Moderately	29					29
Little or not at all	62					61

J. Demands made by your mother or father and/or your husband's mother or father.

Much	5					7
Moderately	17					21
Little or not at all	78					71

36. As you compare your present life goals with those you had when you were in your last undergraduate year, do you find that your goals have changed?

Very much	12					12
Much	15					11
Somewhat	31					21
Little	29					28
Not at all	13					27

If your goals have changed, what, briefly, are the changes?

	(258)					(32)
More interested in, enjoyment of people	15					6
Less interest in family, more in occupation	13					11
Less interest in job-more in family	10					11
More interest in family	10					30
More awareness and self-understanding	6					3
Less interest in idealism, artistic	6					3

Less interest in materialism	5	8
More idealism	5	0
Less interest in family	3	3
More interest in education	2	6
Other	13	14
Coder can't tell, can't code	6	6
(Number of items)	(291)	(36)

37. To what extent do you feel that at the present time situations or other people determine much of what you do, and that this often goes against what you would really like to do?

Very much	6	6	16	2	2	8	13	10	10	3
Much	15	12	17	14	17	9	6	5	10	11
Somewhat	37	38	29	41	37	42	44	65	55	20
Little	26	24	23	27	27	21	19	10	20	29
Very little	17	20	14	16	16	21	19	10	5	37

p = .003 p = .06

38. When you are with friends and they say or do things with which you do not agree, to what extent do you let them know how you feel?

Very much	7	7	5	6	10	3
Much	27	20	25	28	37	27
Somewhat	51	53	54	54	44	49
Little	10	14	13	10	5	11
Not at all	3	6	3	2	4	9

p = .06

39. A. As you think of your present life, would you welcome more guidance in coping with your inner feelings, attitudes, or emotions?

Very much	7	6	10	6	7	11
Much	10	7	11	8	13	16
Somewhat	27	23	28	31	27	25
Little	26	24	21	24	33	18
Very little	31	40	31	32	20	30

p = .10

B. As you think of your present life, would you welcome more guidance in coping with the demands upon you by the outside world or other people?

Very much	4	8
Much	10	13
Somewhat	21	13
Little	26	23
Very little	38	24

40. How well do you feel you can do the following activities and how important are they to you?

A. Be at ease and poised socially.

Well	46	49	39	55	41	23
Adequately	49	46	57	44	52	68
Poorly	4	6	5	1	7	9

p = .04

Much, moderately important	90	88
Little or none	10	12

B. Contribute to political or community activities.

Well	27	15
Adequately	54	52
Poorly	19	33
Much, moderately important	64	54
Little or none	36	46

C. Creative activities around the house (sewing, gardening, decorating, etc.).

Well	50	48
Adequately	40	46
Poorly	10	7
Much, moderately important	85	89
Little or none	15	11

D. Discipline your children.

	(396)	(76)
Well	36	26
Adequately	58	66
Poorly	6	8
Much, moderately important	92	90
Little or none	7	10

E. Discuss and analyze a serious novel.

Well	30	29	24	29	35	12
Adequately	51	50	49	52	54	52
Poorly	19	20	27	19	11	36

$p = .09$

Much, moderately important	59	58	48	57	71	49
Little or none	41	42	52	43	29	51

$p < .01$

F. Discuss and analyze political events.

Well	21					10
Adequately	51					46
Poorly	28					44
Much, moderately important	78					62
Little or none	22					38

G. Do something artistically creative (writing, painting, or music, etc.).

Well	29					28
Adequately	33					31
Poorly	37					40
Much, moderately important	71					67
Little or none	29					33

H. Dress well.

Well	44					30
Adequately	53					68
Poorly	3					2
Much, moderately important	81					88
Little or none	19					12

I. Express positive feelings openly.

Well	47	44	37	50	56	30
Adequately	46	49	55	45	37	62
Poorly	6	7	7	5	6	8

$p = .09$

Much, moderately important	88					81
Little or none	12					19

J. Express negative feelings openly.

Well	27	25	26	20	35	20
Adequately	56	52	57	67	46	64
Poorly	18	23	17	13	19	16

p = .02

Much, moderately important	75	69
Little or none	25	31

K. Give parties.

Well	40	24
Adequately	48	57
Poorly	12	18
Much, moderately important	63	52
Little or none	37	48

L. Handle financial matters.

Well	39	38	32	48	36	39
Adequately	51	56	53	39	55	48
Poorly	11	6	15	13	10	12

p = .02

Much, moderately important	79	83
Little or none	21	17

M. Help other people with their emotional problems.

Well	30					22
Adequately	52					62
Poorly	18					16
Much, moderately important	74	79	80	74	65	81
Little or none	26	21	20	25	34	19

p = .04

N. Manage the household.

Well	52	57	47	61	40	47
Adequately	44	40	46	37	54	52
Poorly	4	2	6	2	6	1
Much, moderately important	88					95
Little or none	12					5

O. Participate in sports, outdoor, or athletic activities.

Well	32	18
Adequately	41	49
Poorly	26	34
Much, moderately important	62	60
Little or none	38	40

P. Understand your children.

	(381)	(63)
Well	49	30
Adequately	47	67
Poorly	4	3
Much, moderately important	98	94
Little or none	2	6

Q. Understand your husband.

	(404)	(65)
Well	59	45
Adequately	35	51
Poorly	6	5
Much, moderately important	(401) 98	94
Little or none	2	6

41. Please check as many of the following adjectives as apply to describing your appearance. (Figures are percent)

A. Attractive	81	78	73	87	86	65	31	72	78	70
			p = .02					p = .02		
B. Feminine	71					67	50	44	83	83
								p = .003		
C. Not poised	3					4				
D. Plain	11					22				
E. Poor Figure	10					15				
F. Poorly groomed	2					2				
G. Sexy	7					7				
H. Stylish	33					26				
I. Unattractive	0					1				
J. Well-groomed	77					78				

When you were about 21 did you feel that your overall physical attractiveness to men was:

Outstanding	3	2	5	2	5	4			
Very good	22	22	27	18	23	21			
Good	34	25	31	41	39	22			
Average	30	30	25	29	26	43			
Less than fair	8	9	6	9	6	9			
Poor or very poor	3	4	5	1	1	0			

p = .08

42. Approximately how many hours do you spend in a typical week on the following household activities?

A. Cooking

Zero-6 hours	19					14	13	10	25
7-8 hours	14					15	25	10	10
9-13 hours	21					25	13	30	10
14 hours	13					11	25	15	5
15-20 hours	17					11	6	10	30
21 hours or more	12					14	19	15	0
No response, not coded	4					9	0	10	20

p = .03

B. House cleaning

Zero-2 hours	22					9
3,4 hours	16					20
5,6 hours	13					17
7-9 hours	13					10
10-14 hours	19					14
15 hours or more	13					24
No response, can't code	5					6

C. Sewing and mending

Zero	25					21
1 hour	35					33
2-4 hours	20					26
5 hours or more	12					11
No response, can't code	8					10

D. Gardening

Zero	33	30	29	25	46	19				
1 hour	18	12	20	26	16	15				
2 hours	13	13	14	16	9	15				
3-5 hours	17	18	15	18	16	25				
6 hours or more	11	17	11	10	8	17				
No response, can't code	8	11	12	5	4	9				

p = .02

E. Marketing and shopping

Zero - 2 hours	32					35				
3 hours	20					21				
4 hours	15					18				
5 hours	11					10				
6 hours or more	17					10				
No response, can't code	5					7				

F. Direct child care (bathing, dressing, drying, etc.)

Zero	30	50	20	17	31	28	50	5	25	31
1-2 hours	8	8	14	9	2	6	0	5	10	6
3-5 hours	10	11	16	12	1	12	13	15	25	3
6-10 hours	10	6	12	15	6	13	6	35	5	9
11-23 hours	14	6	11	24	24	12	6	5	10	20
24 hours or more	12	1	5	16	27	8	0	5	5	14
No response, can't code	14	18	21	7	10	22	25	30	20	17

$p < .001$ $p = .009$

43. How much time in a typical week do you spend reading or doing the following?

A. Daily newspaper

Zero - 2 hours	23					31				
3 hours	12					14				
4 hours	20					9				
5-6 hours	12					15				
7 hours	22					20				
8 hours or more	10					6				
No response, can't code	2					6				

B. General or news magazines

Zero-1 hour	28	42
2 hours	28	24
3 hours	12	9
4 hours	11	9
5 hours or more	17	8
No response, can't code	3	9

C. Women's magazines

Zero	41	31	50	30	30	23
1 hour	29	29	31	40	30	26
2 hours	10	13	6	5	15	20
3 hours or more	6	15	13	5	5	29
No response, can't code	14	12	0	20	30	3
					p = .02	

D. Books: fiction or non-fiction

Zero-2 hours	27	41
3 hours	8	9
4-5 hours	20	21
6-7 hours	11	8
8-10 hours	14	8
11 hours or more	13	2
No response, can't code	8	12

E. Watching television

Zero-1 hour	15	18
2-3 hours	20	13
4-5 hours	18	21
6-7 hours	14	9
8-10 hours	16	11
11 hours or more	15	23
No response, can't code	2	5

F. Professional reading

Zero	23	23
1-2 hours	14	24
3-6 hours	13	13
7 or more hours	11	4
No response, can't code	39	35

G. Other

Zero-10 hours	14
11 or more	4
No response, can't code	81

44. How often in a typical month do you engage in the following entertainment and recreational activities?

A. Being entertained at other people's homes (dinners, parties)

Zero-1 times	26	40
2 times	28	29
3 times	11	8
4 times	15	9
5 or more times	17	6
No response, can't code	2	6

B. Entertaining at your home

Zero-1 time	32	40
2 times	29	29
3 times	11	5
4 times	12	6
5 or more times	13	10
No response, can't code	4	8

C. Going out to dinner (without your children)

Zero	14	24
1 time	30	42
2-3 times	24	13
4 times	13	4
5 times or more	13	2
No response, can't code	6	12

D. Movies, theatre, concerts

Zero	15	32
1 time	34	33
2 times	21	16
3 times	8	4
4 or more times	17	7
No response, can't code	6	8

E. Sports (golf, tennis, swimming, etc.)

Zero	27					41
1 time	9					12
2-3 times	13					12
4-6 times	19					8
7-10 times	14					4
11 times or more	8					7
No response, can't code	10					16

F. Other

Zero-3 times	15					22
4 or more times	13					10
No response, can't code	72					68

45. How often during the last two or three years have you participated in the following community, club or other activities?

A. Country club

Regularly	7	10	8	7	3	2
Occasionally	16	21	21	14	10	7
Not at all	77	69	72	79	86	90

$p = .05$

B. Den mother or scout leader

Regularly	9	6	12	16	1	6
Occasionally	8	4	14	13	2	8
Not at all	83	89	73	71	97	86

$p \angle .001$

C. Garden club

Regularly	3	7	4	1	0	1
Occasionally	3	3	3	4	2	4
Not at all	94	89	93	94	98	95

$p = .06$

D. League of Women Voters

Regularly	2					1
Occasionally	8					6
Not at all	90					93

E. Political activities, clubs or organizations

Regularly	10	18	10	9	3	6
Occasionally	32	27	31	34	33	16
Not at all	58	55	58	55	63	78

$p = .03$

F. P.T.A.

Regularly	21	15	28	33	9	20
Occasionally	27	30	31	36	13	32
Not at all	52	55	40	32	78	48

$p < .001$

G. Religious groups

Regularly	23					28
Occasionally	25					20
Not at all	51					52

H. Women's social clubs

Regularly	15	22	18	13	11	10
Occasionally	22	26	16	22	23	20
Not at all	63	52	66	66	67	70

$p = .09$

I. Service or philanthropic activities (hospital volunteer, fund drives, etc.)

Regularly	29	34	38	30	15	19
Occasionally	36	42	33	34	34	31
Not at all	45	23	28	36	59	50

$p < .001$

J. Other

	(106)					(20)
Regularly	54					50
Occasionally	22					20
Not at all	25					30

46. What help do you have currently with children and housekeeping?

Children

None	72	94	88	55	54	80
Babysitter few times a week	16	3	7	28	24	8
Occasional help	7	3	1	11	12	2
Babysitter most days	3	0	3	4	4	8
Day care center for children	2	0	1	2	6	2

$p < .001$

Housekeeping

None	51	39	46	43	78	84
Cleaning woman 1,2 times a week	34	45	39	38	14	8
Occasional help	8	8	6	13	6	8
Full time housekeeper	6	8	9	6	2	1

$p < .001$

47. If you are married, how many hours in a typical week (not including meal or bed times) do you spend doing things together with your husband (talking, dancing, walking, working together, etc.)?

	(371)	(61)
Zero-7 hours	18	28
8-11 hours	15	12
12-16 hours	16	12
17-21 hours	17	12
22-29 hours	10	17
31 hours or more	24	18

48. Please answer the following questions about your parents and if you are married, your parents-in-law.

A. Mother

Living with you or in walking distance	12	16	16	6	10	16
Not living with you but about an hour away	20	20	16	24	25	39
Living further away	46	25	41	58	60	31
Not living	22	39	27	12	4	14

$p < .001$

B. Father										
Living with you or within walking distance	6	5	6	5	8	11				
Not living with you but about an hour away	15	11	8	16	23	20				
Living further away	35	11	26	43	59	30				
Not living	44	72	59	36	10	39				
			p <.001							
C. Mother-in-law										
Living with you or within walking distance	4	4	7	4	3	9	7	13	46	17
Not living with you but about an hour away	23	16	17	32	26	24	7	13	0	31
Living further away	45	22	34	51	67	26	7	40	38	34
Not living	28	57	42	14	4	41	80	33	15	17
			p ∠.001					p = .009		
D. Father-in-law										
Living with you or within walking distance	3	3	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
Not living with you but about an hour away	17	9	10	25	20	15	0	7	31	21
Living further away	36	12	20	43	64	25	0	13	31	39
Not living	45	76	66	29	15	60	100	80	38	39
			p ∠.001					p <.01		
Number of hours per week spent together (including writing, telephoning)										
A. Mother										
Zero hours	11					7				
1 hour	30					30				
2 hours	8					11				
3-6 hours	14					11				
7 hours or more	9					9				
No response, can't code	28					34				

B. Father

Zero hours	11	9
1 hour	24	19
2-3 hours	6	12
4 hours or more	7	3
No response, can't code	52	57

C. Mother-in-law

Zero hours	16	12
1 hour	24	16
2 hours	6	2
3 hours or more	5	8
No response, can't code	50	62

D. Father-in-law

Zero hours	14	14
1 hour	16	8
2 hours	4	1
3 or more hours	3	1
No response, can't code	63	75

49. Women often have to combine several major activities or responsibilities at the same time (for instance, housekeeping, mothering, employment, etc.). Do you feel that at the present time you are managing your several tasks

Very well	21	18
Well	46	40
Fairly well	31	41
Not well/Badly	2	1

Whether you manage satisfactorily or not, what have been your difficulties?

	(401)	(70)
Not enough time	28	20
Coping with household	15	5
Conflict: activities, responsibilities	14	10
Family's needs, demands, etc.	14	25
Personality: internal disorganization, emotional needs, boredom, etc.	13	10
Conflict: home or social vs. professional	7	20
Husband's needs, demands, etc.	5	0
Environment poor: big city, no recreation, etc.	1	0
Other	3	10
Number of items	(543)	(90)

50. When it comes to making decisions, if you had to choose the one or the other, (please answer whether you are married or not) would you prefer your husband

To have strong priority	89	84
Would you prefer to have strong priority yourself	8	12
"50-50" or "don't know"	3	4

51. If you are married, to what degree does your husband

A. Talk with you about your own worries, errors, or painful experiences

	(392)	(74)
Much	37	36
Moderately	38	31
Little	24	26
Does not apply	2	7

B. Welcome your help with his work, interests or work problems

	(392)	(74)
Much	48	47
Moderately	27	30
Little	19	14
Does not apply	6	9

C. Help you with your problems about the rearing of your children

	(374)	(91)	(81)	(106)	(102)	(68)
Much	55	57	49	58	54	62
Moderately	25	21	40	25	18	19
Little	9	11	10	9	8	6
Does not apply	11	11	1	8	21	13

$p = .001$*

*If "does not apply" responses are removed, there is no significant difference between groups.

D. Encourage you in your career aspirations or other interests outside the home

	(392)	(74)
Much	46	39
Moderately	34	38
Little	14	16
Does not apply	5	7

Appendix B

STUDY OF ADULT WOMEN

Institute for the Study of Human Problems
Stanford University

Instructions: Most questions simply require placing a check mark in the appropriate space. If you have additional comments, please feel free to write them in.

1. What was your undergraduate major ? ______________________________

2. How many years of college (undergraduate) did you complete (please check) ?

   Less than 1 ___ 1 ___ 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 ___

3. Do you hold any of the following degrees (check those that apply):

   A.A. degree ___ (1)
   Bachelor's degree ___ (2)
   LL.B. ___ (3)
   M.D. ___ (4)
   Master's degree ___ (5)
   Ph.D. ___ (6)
   Other degree ___ (7)

   Master's degree in what field? ____________________
   Ph.D. in what field? ____________________
   What other degree and field? ____________________

4. Have you had any other formal training or schooling (including on-the-job training) since the end of your undergraduate years ?

   Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

   If yes, what was the training or schooling ?

   ____

5. Are you currently enrolled in any courses or training program ?

   Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

   If yes, what courses or program ?

   ____

. . . .

Your name ______________________________

Address ______________________________

____

6. In the last five years have you taken any adult education, university extension, or other courses or training (such as sewing, calculus, Spanish, pottery, piano, bridge or skiing lessons, etc.) ?

None ___(1)
1-2 courses ___(2)
3-5 courses ___(3)
6-10 courses ___(4)
11-20 courses ___(5)
20 or more courses ___(6)

Please list the subject areas of these courses.

____

____

7. As you think of your present educational needs please check an answer for each item to indicate whether it is a need which is already met, or a need which is not met, or not a need now.

	Need met (1)	Need not met (2)	Not a need now (3)
a) Courses or training to further your education, but not for the sake of a career	___	___	___
b) Courses or training primarily to gain greater self-understanding and understanding of other people	___	___	___
c) Courses or training to allow you to resume a career that you were either trained for or did pursue	___	___	___
d) Courses or training to prepare you for a new career	___	___	___
e) Aptitude tests that would help tell you where your special strengths are	___	___	___

8. At any time since the end of your school years did you seriously desire to continue your education, but did not do so ?

Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If yes, what were your reasons for not continuing ?
(Please check an answer for each item.)

	Important reason (1)	Minor reason (2)	Not a reason (3)
Insufficient funds	___	___	___
Husband not encouraging	___	___	___
Needing to take care of your children	___	___	___
Needing to devote yourself to your husband	___	___	___
Very tired of going to school	___	___	___
Doubts about your abilities	___	___	___
The attitudes of your parents	___	___	___
The attitudes of your friends	___	___	___
Other: ______________________	___	___	___

9. From the time that you ended your undergraduate education to the present day, have you had any paid employment ?

Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If your answer is Yes, please continue here.

If your answer is No, please skip to question 14.

Since you left college to the present day, did you have paid employment

a) Between 21 and 40 hours per week

Never ___(1)
One year or less ___(2)
2-5 years ___(3)
6-9 years ___(4)
10-14 years ___(5)
15-19 years ___(6)
20 years or more ___(7)

b) 20 hours or less per week

Never ___(1)
One year or less ___(2)
2-5 years ___(3)
6-9 years ___(4)
10-14 years ___(5)
15-19 years ___(6)
20 years or more ___(7)

10. What is (was) your present or most recent paid employment ? (Please describe your job as specifically as you can.)

____

11. What is (was) the paid employment you held for the longest amount of time ? (Please describe your job as specifically as you can.)

____

12. What are or were the reasons for your working ? (Please check an answer for each item, saying whether it is an important reason, a minor reason, or not a reason.)

	Important reason (1)	Minor reason (2)	Not a reason (3)
a) To provide all or most of the income for yourself or your family	___	___	___
b) To make the life of your family financially more comfortable, to afford a better life style	___	___	___
c) To help finance educational opportunities for your children	___	___	___
d) To have a chance to spend some time outside of the house	___	___	___
e) To be of service to people other than your own family	___	___	___
f) To be with and work together with other people	___	___	___
g) To occupy your time	___	___	___
h) To have a sense of independence	___	___	___
i) To develop yourself as a person	___	___	___
j) Other: ________________________	___	___	___
k) Other: ________________________	___	___	___

13. How important was your college experience in your paid employment ? (If you had several jobs, answer for the job that you held for the longest period of time.)

a) The bachelor's degree was the employer's condition for hiring Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
b) Your work, in your opinion, could have been done by someone who had not gone to college Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
c) You used specific skills acquired in academic courses Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
Which ? ______________________________
d) You used specific skills acquired in extracurricular activities Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
Which ? ______________________________

14. In the last five years have you been engaged in work OTHER THAN homemaking and paid employment (for instance, community, volunteer work, alumni activities, etc.) ? Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If yes, please name them.

____

____

____

15. Did you participate in any alumni educational programs during the last five years ? Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If yes, please list them.

____

____

16. If available now, would you participate in the following alumni educational programs ?

a) Courses or seminars on campus lasting at least one week and not more than a month Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
b) Courses or seminars in your own home community lasting at least one weekend Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
c) Lectures or lecture series in your own home community Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
d) Alumni colleges abroad or some special off-campus location in the United States Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
e) Courses by correspondence directed by your alma mater - for credit Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
f) Courses by correspondence directed by your alma mater - not for credit Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If you checked No in all the above items, please give us your reasons.

17. Do you have paid employment now ? Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If No, please continue here.

If Yes, please skip to question 19.

If you do not have paid employment now, are you preparing yourself or planning for:

a) Paid work in the near future Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

b) Paid work in the more distant future Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

The work you are preparing for is:

____

You are preparing for it by doing:

____

18. If you do not have paid employment now, which statements describe your situation ? (Please reply to all the items.)

a) You like to give your family your full attention Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
b) You would like to work but have found no appropriate employment Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

c) A job is unattractive to you Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
d) Your husband's general attitude is that you should not have a job Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
e) You will seek employment when your family situation allows you more time Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

f) Other: ______________________________________ Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

19. Do you wish that college had prepared you more for having an occupation ? Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If yes, how ?

____

20. Have you yourself experienced any employer discrimination practices ?

a) Employer prejudices against hiring a woman Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
b) Differential salaries for men and women with the same training and experience Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
c) Differential sex policies regarding tenure, seniority and promotions Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
d) Unwillingness and reservations by employer to delegate administrative responsibility to women employees Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

e) Other: ______________________________________ Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
(please specify)

21. How important do you think it is for your own self-fulfillment to have a career in addition to being a wife and mother ?

Very important ___(1) Important ___(2) Neutral ___(3) Unimportant ___(4) Very unimportant ___(5)

22. Please list one or two or three capabilities of yours from any and all areas of your life that you are particularly satisfied with and that you acquired since you were an undergraduate. Please list the capabilities and, if you can, when, where, and how you acquired them.

	Capabilities	When, where, how acquired
1.		
2.		
3.		

23. When were you born ? ______ Day ______ Month ______ Year

24. Are you Caucasian ___(1) Negro ___(2) Oriental ___(3) Other: __________(4)

25. What is your religion now ? Catholic ___(1) Jewish ___(2)
Protestant ___, denomination: ________________(3) Agnostic ___(4)
Atheist ___(5) Other: ______________(6)

26. Which one of the following is closest to your present political leanings and which was closest in your last undergraduate year ?

	Present leaning	Leaning last undergraduate year
Conservative Democrat	___(1)	___(1)
Liberal Democrat	___(2)	___(2)
Conservative Republican	___(3)	___(3)
Liberal Republican	___(4)	___(4)
Conservative Independent	___(5)	___(5)
Liberal Independent	___(6)	___(6)
Socialist	___(7)	___(7)
None	___(8)	___(8)
Other (present):	(9)	

Other (undergraduate): ____________________
____________________(9)

27. When you were in college, what was your father's occupation ?

____
(please be specific)

28. Did your mother have paid employment at any time in her life ?

Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If yes, what type of paid employment at which of the following periods:

	TYPE OF WORK		
Before she was married	___________	Yes ___ (1)	No ___ (2)
After marriage, but before children	___________	Yes ___ (1)	No ___ (2)
Children below 12	___________	Yes ___ (1)	No ___ (2)
Children above 12, but still living at home	___________	Yes ___ (1)	No ___ (2)
After children had left home	___________	Yes ___ (1)	No ___ (2)

29. Are you Single ___(1) Married ___(2) Separated or divorced ___(3) Widowed ___(4)

30. If you are married now, how many years have you been married to your present husband ? ____

Is this your first marriage ? Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

31. Do you have children ? Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

If yes, how many children do you have ? ____

How old is your youngest child ?

Below 6 ___(1) 6-10 ___(2) 11-16 ___(3) 17 or older ___(4)

32. What is your husband's present occupation ? (Please be specific.)

____

33. A job that takes at least 20 hours per week of a mother's time is not in the best interest of her child, if her child is (please check all that apply) :

	Not in the child's best interest
Below 3 years	___(1)
Below 6 years	___(2)
Between 6 and 10 years	___(3)
Between 11 and 13 years	___(4)
Between 14 and 17 years	___(5)

34. What is your health at the present time ?

Excellent ___(1) Very good ___(2) Good ___(3) Fair ___(4) Poor ___(5)

35. To what extent have the following been sources of dissatisfaction for you during the last one or two years ? (Please check one answer for each item.)

	Much (1)	Moderately (2)	Little or not at all (3)
Not enough time	___	___	___
Boredom	___	___	___
Constant interruptions	___	___	___
Children's needs	___	___	___
Husband's needs	___	___	___
Not enough friends	___	___	___
No employment	___	___	___
Not enough intellectual or artistic activities ..	___	___	___
Not enough fun	___	___	___
Demands made by your mother or father and/or your husband's mother or father	___	___	___
Other: ________________	___	___	___

36. As you compare your present life goals with those you had when you were in your last undergraduate year, do you find that your goals have changed ?

Very much ___(1) Much ___(2) Somewhat ___(3) Little ___(4) Not at all ___(5)

If your goals have changed, what, briefly, are the changes ?

____

____

37. To what extent do you feel that at the present time situations or other people determine much of what you do, and that this often goes against what you really would like to do ?

Very much ___(1) Much ___(2) Somewhat ___(3) Little ___(4) Very little ___(5)

38. When you are with friends and they say or do things with which you do not agree, to what extent do you let them know how you feel ?

Very much ___(1) Much ___(2) Somewhat ___(3) Little ___(4) Very little ___(5)

39. a) As you think of your present life, would you welcome more guidance in coping with your inner feelings, attitudes or emotions ?

Very much ___(1) Much ___(2) Somewhat ___(3) Little ___(4) Very little ___(5)

b) As you think of your present life, would you welcome more guidance in coping with the demands made upon you by the outside world or other people ?

Very much ___(1) Much ___(2) Somewhat ___(3) Little ___(4) Very little ___(5)

40. How well do you feel you can do the following activities and how important are they to you ? (Please check each item, once under A and once under B.)

	A Check one ↓ Can do			B Check one ↓ Importance to you	
	Well (1)	Adequately (2)	Poorly (3)	Moderate or much (1)	Little or none (2)
Be at ease and poised socially	___	___	___	___	___
Contribute to political or community activities	___	___	___	___	___
Creative activities around the house (sewing, gardening, decorating, etc.)	___	___	___	___	___
Discipline your children	___	___	___	___	___
Discuss and analyze a serious novel	___	___	___	___	___
Discuss and analyze political events	___	___	___	___	___
Do something artistically creative (writing, painting, or music, etc.)	___	___	___	___	___
Dress well	___	___	___	___	___
Express positive feelings openly	___	___	___	___	___
Express negative feelings openly	___	___	___	___	___
Give parties	___	___	___	___	___
Handle financial matters	___	___	___	___	___
Help other people with their emotional problems	___	___	___	___	___
Manage the household	___	___	___	___	___
Participate in sports, outdoor, or athletic activities	___	___	___	___	___
Understand your children	___	___	___	___	___
Understand your husband	___	___	___	___	___

41. a) Please check as many of the following adjectives as apply to describing your appearance.

Attractive ___ (1)
Feminine ___ (2)
Not poised ___ (3)
Plain ___ (4)
Poor figure ___ (5)
Poorly groomed ___ (6)
Sexy ___ (7)
Stylish ___ (8)
Unattractive ___ (9)
Well groomed ___ (0)

b) When you were about 21 did you feel that your overall physical attractiveness to men was (check one)

Outstanding ___(1) Very good ___(2) Good ___(3) Average ___(4)

Less than fair ___(5) Poor ___(6) Very poor ___(7)

42. Approximately how many hours do you spend in a typical week on the following household activities ?

	Hours per week
Cooking	___
House cleaning	___
Sewing and mending	___
Gardening	___
Marketing and shopping	___
Direct child care (bathing, dressing, driving, etc.)	___

43. How much time in a typical week do you spend reading or doing the following ?

	Hours per week
Daily newspaper	___
General or news magazines	___
Women's magazines	___
Books: fiction or non-fiction	___
Watching television	___
Professional reading - please specify: ___________	___
Other: ___________	___

44. How often in a typical month do you engage in the following entertainment and recreational activities ?

	Times per month
Being entertained at other people's homes (dinners, parties)	___
Entertaining at your home	___
Going out to dinner (without your children)	___
Movies, theatre, concerts	___
Sports (golf, tennis, swimming, etc.)	___
Other: ___________	___

45. How often during the last two or three years have you participated in the following community, club or other activities ? (Please check each item.)

	Regularly (1)	Occasionally (2)	Not at all (3)
Country club	___	___	___
Den mother or scout leader	___	___	___
Garden club	___	___	___
League of Women Voters	___	___	___
Political activities, clubs or organizations	___	___	___
P.T.A.	___	___	___
Religious groups	___	___	___
Women's social clubs	___	___	___
Service or philanthropic activities (hospital volunteer, fund drives, etc.)	___	___	___
Other: ___________	___	___	___

46. What help do you have currently with children and housekeeping ?

Baby sitter at least part of most days Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
Baby sitter a few times a week Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
Day care center for children Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
Full time housekeeper Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
Cleaning woman once or twice a week Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)
Other: ___________ Yes ___ (1) No ___ (2)

47. If you are married, how many hours in a typical week (not including meal or bed times) do you spend doing things together with your husband (talking, dancing, walking, working together, etc.) ?

_____ (Number of hours)

48. Please answer the following questions about your parents and, if you are married, your parents-in-law.

	Not living (1)	Living with you or within walking distance (2)	Not living with you but about an hour away (3)	Living further away (4)	Number of hours per week spent together (including writing, telephoning)
Mother	___	___	___	___	_____
Father	___	___	___	___	_____
Mother-in-law	___	___	___	___	_____
Father-in-law	___	___	___	___	_____

49. Women often have to combine several major activities or responsibilities at the same time (for instance, housekeeping, mothering, employment, etc.). Do you feel that at the present time you are managing your several tasks

Very well ___(1) Well ___(2) Fairly well ___(3) Not well ___(4) Badly ___(5)

Whether you manage satisfactorily or not, what have been your difficulties ?

____

____

50. When it comes to making decisions, if you had to choose the one or the other, (please answer whether you are married or not)

Check one ↓

(1) Would you prefer your husband to have strong priority _____(1)

(2) Would you prefer to have strong priority yourself _____(2)

51. If you are married, to what degree does your husband

	Much (1)	Moderately (2)	Little (3)	Does not apply (4)
Talk with you about your own worries, errors or painful experiences	___	___	___	___
Welcome your help with his work interests or work problems	___	___	___	___
Help you with your problems about the rearing of your children	___	___	___	___
Encourage you in your career aspirations or other interests outside the home	___	___	___	___

52. As you think about your life since you were an undergraduate, a) what experiences contributed to making your life better and how ? b) What experiences hindered making your life better and how ? (If you need more space, please use additional paper.)

a) Contributed

b) Hindered

Appendix C

Interview Protocol

1. How did you feel about the questionnaire we mailed you? Were there any things you consider important that were not covered in it?

2. We would like to get a picture of what your life is like now.
   (a) Can you give me a description of one of your days? Please describe yesterday (or most recent weekday). If yesterday was not typical, also ask for most recent typical day.
   (b) What was the most satisfying experience of the day? The least satisfying?

3. (a) What aspects of your present life are particularly pleasing to you and what makes them pleasing?
   (b) If person works or is in school, ask about (i) gratifications and (ii) reasons for these activities. If person is a homemaker primarily, ascertain (i) gratifications and (ii) reasons for it.
   (c) Please describe your childrens' present lives.

4. (a) What sort of things in your present life distress or bother you?
   (b) How do you deal with them? (If not brought up spontaneously, ask what in her personal life is distressful to her.)

5. What do you think your life will be like (a) ten years from now; (b) twenty years from now?

6. (a) Can you name a person (living or dead) you particularly admire? What is it about that person that you admire?
   (b) Can you name another person whom you particularly admire? What is it about that person that you admire?
   (c) If both persons named belong to the same sex, ask for an admired person of the other sex and what about that person is admired.

7. (a) What sort of things can you do best?
   (b) What sort of things do you do poorly but would like to do better?
   (c) What helped in the development of the skills you just mentioned (under a)?